THE
EDUCATION OF HINDUS UNDER MUSLIM RULE

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PREFACE

BY

Alhaj Major Shamsuddin Mohammad,
Ex-Education Minister Bahawalpur,
President, All Pakistan Educational Conference.

Since the time I wrote a Foreword to the Urdu contribution of Syed Sulaiman Nadvi's " The Education of Hindus under the Muslim Rule ", Syed Sulaiman Nadvi's efforts have already achieved a measure of success in introducing a subject of great historical and international importance. Since then, the book has been translated in three languages, this translation in English being the third laudable effort.

Many a book has already been written on the subject of the role that the Mughal rulers have played in giving impetus to the understanding and proper appreciation of Muslim thought in the realm of education and many other subjects and sciences. A great concourse of scholars have followed in the wake of Muslim conquerors from Central Asia to India and in fact to all corners of the world. The underlying idea of the mission of our Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) has always been to introduce the principles of our religion in order to give food for thought to those who have been misled in the dark ages, to arrive at a proper appreciation of Almighty God and the principles of oneness of God and the true spirit which should guide the people to the goal that the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) had set before the world.

This mission and this principle have always been the underlying source of strength for imparting education to the people. The ignorance and the veil of secrecy that has always obscured the vision had to be raised and lifted to present to them the panorama of great wealth of imagination in the form of proper educative values.

The inner meanings of 'self' and the human conception of man's lofty position and his role as part and parcel of that great universe, his duties of doing service to mankind only depended on the proper understanding of the principles that guided his destiny towards the march of his goal, which was the hall-mark of all that was noble in the realm of thought.

I think we can now, at this stage, feel bold to say that the mission was a great success and the edifice of Islam was founded on a solid foundation on the rock of knowledge. The clouds of ignorance dispersed, the understanding between the Creator and the created was complete and it was there that the duties of every Muslim, man or woman, were properly defined, to create a stage where they could formulate a programme to impart education to all and sundry.

The mission was fulfilled within the life time of our Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) in Arabia and the Muslim missionaries reached the four corners of the world. There is no doubt about one thing; that the Arabic influence had already reached in many countries and has continued since then as an honourable mission and as a legacy throughout the world. It was in this mission of educating people that the impact of Muslim Civilization in Spain, France and gradually in other European countries, like

Germany, reached its climax. The idea of the freedom of individuals and freedom of speech, thought and action, gained great strength in the French Revolution which was the signal of a very great movement which found expression in other European countries.

I need not reiterate the importance of this mission and how the Muslims, wherever they went, imparted education with a missionary spirit to the people of all countries without prejudice and bias. The Mughals did not lag behind and every home in India was converted into a school for all castes and creeds. Can any one say that Muslim Monarchs, missionaries, saints and diplomats have in any way spared themselves the effort of fulfilling their duty to God and Man ?

Therefore, the book written by Maulana Nadvi has created an interest and its translation in many more languages would create an interest in the educative values of that mission ; the foundation of which was truly laid by that great and superb Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) who has brought solace, strength of conviction and freedom of thought to every individual by rational approach to the common sense of the common man in the study of God and His creation.

SHAMSUDDIN MOHAMMAD.
1-1-1963.

FOREWORD

BY

Syed Altaf Ali Brelvi, B.A. (Alig.)

Like individuals, nations also differ in temperament, habits and natural inclinations. Whatever factors might contribute to these differences and distinctions according to biologists and anthropologists, and howsoever cliamatic variations and incidents of life might influence these changes ; the real contributive forces are those distinctive trends of thought and idea of man, which make up the peculiarities of individual and national life and are distinctly visible in the kaleidoscope of human habits and instincts.

Viewed from this standpoint, the Hindus of ancient India appear quite different from the other nations of the world. Setting aside superstitious beliefs and hero-worship which were common in those days ; the Hindus bore no resemblance to civilized nations of that age. Their corporate existence was rent asunder by watertight compartments of caste distinctions, so rigid, that one could not step out of one group of caste to enter into another. One group was formed of Priests and religious leaders, and it was reserved for hereditary Brahmans. The second group embraced exlcusively the warriors and soldiers who belonged to the Kshatryic caste.

The third group comprised the trading and cultivating class, known as the Vaish. The lowest rung of the social ladder was formed by the untouchables—Sudras and Chandals—who were treated worse than animals, and whose lives and properties were always at the tender mercy of upper classes. Even in the course of travelling they were not permitted to come into contact with members of upper classes. The Hindus believed that sea voyage polluted their faith, and hence they avoided it. Education was a privilege enjoyed by the Brahmans alone, and it was ordained that if a Chandal happened to listen to a word of the holy Vedas he was to be punished by pouring red-hot iron into his ears.

This constituted the ideology of the inhabitants of ancient India. It is evident that this system of life and thought nursed an unmistakable tendency towards aparthied, national exclusiveness and hatred for new exotic ideas; born of incorrigible narrow mindedness. The fact that India on the eve of Muslim supremacy was afflicted with educational and literary sterility and notwithstanding the claims of a civilized living for thousands of years there is not a single book or authentic record throwing light on the growth of corporate life, and its fruits in those days; can be easily explained by the confinement of education and civilized life within a single class and avoiding contact with advanced nations. The entire literary achievements of the ancient Hindus consist of a few mythological tales, or at the best, the well-known book 'Ramayana' which is also full of irrational fables. This state of affairs continued from the beginning of the ancient period of Indian History to its conclusion. In no records dealing with the pre-historic age upto the time when India came within the

limelight of authentic history there is any trace of systematic imparting of education or diffusion of knowledge. The well-known educational institutions of Kalinga, Patliputra and Texila, discovered lately, do not reflect any credit to Hinduism. They are the relics of the achievements of the Buddhists in the field of learning. These centres of learning and education also fell victim to narrow-minded vindictiveness as soon as Buddhism suffered extinction in India at the hands of the Brahmans.

Opposed to this Hindu prejudice against learning and enlightenment was the liberalism and humanism of the people of the desert of Arabia who formed a brigde between Asia and Europe for the transmission of knowledge. The Arabs were carrying on trade and commerce with all countries even before the advent of Islam ; but their coming under the enlightened influence of Islam made them fully civilized and conscious of leadership in world thought. They soon transformed themselves into a nation entrusted with the noble mission of contributing to the betterment and advancement of humanity. Wherever they went, they dispelled the darkness of ignorance and liberated down-trodden people from slavery, casteism and intellectual bondage.

The history of the Muslim rule in India bears eloquent testimony to the fact that their coming into this country brought such a revolution in the civilization, ways of living, ideas, arts and learning of this country that the people who were ignorant of the most primitive essentials of daily life, soon began to emulate the Muslims in their own arts of civilization. The Muslims observed complete toleration and equality in their treatment of the Hindus and made so rapid progress in

the diffusion of various branches of arts and learning and at the same time set up such a high standard of magnanimity and complete identification with the subject races that all differences between Hindus and Muslims were obliterated and the Hindus began to make big strides in every walk of life. The example set up by the Muslims created love of learning among the Hindus. Their patronage of Hindu culture created openings for the expanion of Hindu intellect and genius which had been kept stagnant for ages. The story of Muslim patronage of the Hindus and the display of Hindu genius in the new favourable and congenial atmosphere is too long to be fully recounted in a short volume. The late Allama Syed Sulaiman Nadvi (May his soul rest in peace) in his incomparable style has collected valuable data for further researches, and the treatise, Viz; "The Education of Hindus under the Muslim rule", which was originally written in Urdu has so far gone into two editions. The authenticity and reliability of the contents of the book are above comment in-as-much-as the compiler took great pains in the investigation and correlation of the subject matter.

It will not be out of place to make a little digression to show that the Muslim liberality and large heartedness in their dealing with the Hindus, when contrasted with the attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims at dawn of freedom from foreign yoke in 1947, in complete disregard of a millennium of Muslim magnanimity relates a story full of lesson for historians and future generations. This treatment of an important section of the people of India, to whom the country owes a deep debt of gratitude for her national uplift, advancement and intellectual growth cannot be explained but by the fact

that this is a national characteristic of the Hindus and furnishes very thought-provoking subject of comparative study for those, who are interested in the history and social and political development of the sub-continent.

The Academy of Educational research, in view of the growing demand published a Bengali version of the book and has now thought it fit to publish it in English. The translation of the book into English was entrusted to Mirza Ashiq Husain, M.A., and the late Dr. Zubaid Ahmad, M.A., Ph.D., who have acquitted themselves most creditably of a difficult task. We are very grateful to these gentlemen for their painstaking efforts.

Professor Muhammad Hamiuddin Khan, M.A. (Alig.), Deputy Director, also deserves thanks for going through the translation and checking it in the course of printing at great personal inconvenience and with untiring efforts.

We are also thankful to the Manager, Zawwar Printing Press, for paying full attention for the strenuous work of proof correction and printing.

Syed Altaf Ali Brelvi.
5.1.1963.

THE EDUCATION OF HINDUS UNDER THE MUSLIM RULE

CHAPTER I

Before attempting a survey of the Hindu-Muslim educational and cultural relations in India it is proposed to study what relations the Hindus had with their Arab neighbours.

Although the Arabs made their first invasion in the first century A.H. (7th century A.D.), yet these two ancient nations had maintained friendly relations long before the advent of Islam. While India became the homeland of the Aryan race, Arabia turned out to be the cradle of the Semitic. The two countries constitute, as it were, the two wings of the Arabian Sea standing out face to face with each other. Its water touches the border of Aryavarta on one side and that of the holy land of Arabia on the other.

Seabound countries are naturally mercantile and so their common commercial interests draw them closer and closer and befriend them. The Arab traders used to visit the coastal towns in India thousands of years ago and return home with the special local products which could easily be exported to different Western countries. The Arabs thus linked up the East with the West or India with Europe. Their merchandise consisted mainly of spices, incenses, cloths and swords, herbs and fruits. This explains the retention of the Sanskrit names

of these commodities in Arabic. For example, words such as *Misk* (Musk), *Kāfūr* (Camphor), *Sandal* (Sandal), *Qaranfal* (Clove), *Filfi* (Pepper), *Zanjibil* (Ginger), *Nārjil* (Coconut) and *Mauz* (Banana) are only the Arabised forms of Sanskrit *Moshka*, *Kāpūr*, *Chandan*, *Kantikphal*, *Pipli*, *Jiranjabirā*, *Nāryal* and *Mocha* respectively. A sword is called Muhannad in Arabic, as it comes from Hind (India). Arabic words such as *qusṭ hindi* (The Costus, a herb whose root is used medically), *'Ud hindi* (aloes) and *tamr hindi* (which becomes 'tamarind' in English) themselves indicate their lineage.

As all the trade passed through the sea routes, some of the navigation terms are traceable to their Indian origin, *e.g. Barija* (Fleet), *Dūnij* (Boat), *Hāri* (Small Boat), etc., are of the Indian origin. These words commonly occur in the works of the Arab travellers.

In the pre-Islamic age some Arab traders migrated from Baḥrain to settle down on the Mediterranean coast. They were called Kanaanis and Aramaeans by the Jews, and Phœnicians by the Greeks. Their occupation of trade necessitated the invention of the art of writing in order to strengthen their memories and to preserve their records, and so they had to adopt some sort of script. As Greece lay on the one end of their field of operation and India on the other, their invention of the art of writing was received with alacrity in both the countries.

Experts have classified all the scripts of the world in four categories as under :—

1. *Greek Script*, which is the fountain head of all the forms of scripts, used in different parts of Europe.

2. '*IBRĪ*' which gave birth to the Sāmirī script.

3. "*Musned*" which is the origin of the Sāba'rī, Ḥimyārī and Habashī scripts ; and

4. "*Aramaeans*" which is the mother of the Hindi, old Persian, Arabic, Tadmuri, Syriac and Nābitī scripts.

This classification of scripts shows that the ancient India learnt the art of writing from the Arabs ; for Aramaeans were originally Arabs as said above.

Political relations between the Arabt and the Indians did not develop as a result of their direct mutual contact but through the Iranians. Political hostilities between Iran and Arabia had continued for long. Banū Shaibān were waging war against the Iranians when Islam came. It was either a miracle of Islam or a mere luck that the Arabs defeated the Iranians in the battlefield, whereupon the Prophet remarked, "Today Arabia has obtained her justice from Persia." During the Caliphate of *Ḥaḍrat* Abū Bakr the Shaibānis marched into Iran and after finding that the country was weak, they informed the Caliph and asked for military help. This was the first occasion when the Muslims came politically in contact with the Iranians.

The Iranian power was totally crushed during the reign of *Ḥaḍrat* 'Uthmān in 30 A.H. (650 A.D.). As the Iranian empire extended up to the border of Sind, the Arab Muslims apprehended the Iranians getting reinforcement from the latter through the sea and attacking their capital even from Arabia itself and so they had to invade Sind.

Afterwards invasions were made also in the reign of *Ḥaḍrat* 'Alī and Amīr Mu'āwiyah, but the complete conquest was achieved in the time of Walīd. It appears that there had already increased the Muslim population, as the chief cause of the Muslim invasion of Sind was the provocation caused by the Hindus capturing some Muslim women to keep them as concubines. Hajjāj was the Governor of 'Irāq at that time. The Muslim women cried to him for help. When he was informed of the situation, he became impatient to conquer the country and vindicate the honour of Islam. Eventually he commissioned his nephew, Muḥammad bin Qāsim, then only eighteen years old, to punish the offenders. He conquered Sind and eventually the whole territory, as far as Multan, was brought under the Muslim influence.

At that time Muslims were interested in the study of theology and the *Tafsir* (Commentaries on the *Qur'ān*), *Ḥadith* (Tradition), *Fiqah* (Jurisprudence) and literature. Accordingly the converts to Islam acquired proficiency in these branches of learning. In the works on *Rijāl* (short biographical notes on persons) mention has been made of various scholars and experts of tradition belonging to Sind. Abū Mashʻar Sindi was the son of a Sindi slave. He accompanied his master to Arabia, where he was granted the right of free citizenship. He settled down at Madina. After some time the surname 'Sindi' was replaced with 'Madani' and now he is known as Abū Ma'shar Madani. He attained perfection in the art of 'Suyar' (Biography of the Prophet) so much so that he soon came to be acknowledged as a great authority in that field. Although he could not avoid Sindi accent and his speech was not strictly according to the cannons relating to the articulation and phonetics of Arabic,

still he attracted a host of disciples around him. He died in 170 A.H. (786 A.D.). His funeral prayer was led by Hārūn Rashīd, the then Caliph.

Another learned man, named Rijā'us-Sindi, migrated to Iran and became known as *Isfarāinini.* He was well versed in the science of tradition. According to Hākim, a traditionist of repute, he was considered to be a great expert in Tradition. He died in 221 A.H. (835 A.D.).

Abu 'Atā Sindi was an eminent man of letters. The fact that Abū Tammām has incorporated some of his Arabic verses in his book *Hamāsah* bears testimony to his literary excellence. Sindi bin Shāhik migrated to Baghdad and settled there on bridge. Kushājam, one of his descendants, rose to eminence in Arabic poetry. Abū Naṣr Fatḥ bin 'Abdullāh's Sindi was also a slave from Sind. On the completion of his education, he earned the title of *Faqīh* (Jurist) and *Mutakallim* (Scholestic theologian). Apart from those who had changed the religion of their country as mentioned hereto, there were also those who, while adhering to their own religion, actively participated, along with the Muslims, in their literary and educational activities. To the latter category belonged about half a dozen physicians figuring conspicuously in the annals of our educational progress. Surely they had reached Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbāside Caliphate, as a result of Arab's contact with Sind. Ibn Nadīm, Ibn Abī 'Uṣaibi'ah have mentioned numerous Sanskrit books on medicine and philosophy which were translated into Arabic through them. It can, therefore, be concluded that either Arabic language had found access to the circle of the educated Hindus in the country conquered by the Muslims or the Muslims had acquired efficiency in their

language after reaching India, or Persian had served as a connecting link between the two peoples.

History tells us that Muslim cultural missions used to visit India in the early days of the rise of the Muslim power. Yaḥyā Barmaki sent a man to India with the commission, firstly, to search and bring home some indigenous drugs and, secondly, to prepare a detailed account of the creeds and practices of the Hindu religion. A copy of the said report by Ya'qūb Kindi was available until the time of Ibn Nadīm, *i.e.* up to 370 A.H. (986 A.D.). This document bears 249 A.H. (863 A.D.) as the year of writing. Murtaḍā Zaidi has written that a Raja in Sind once requested Caliph Hārūn Rashīd to depute some learned man to participate in religious polemics if Islam claimed to be a rational religion. Accordingly a *Faqih* (Jurist) was sent in the first instance, but he expressed ignorance of philosophic technicalities and so returned home. Consequently Ibn 'Abbād, a famous scholestic theologian of Baghdad, was nominated for the purpose. This historical fact leads to the conclusion that the knowledge of Arabic language and philosophy had spread to some extent at that time in Sind.

Jāhiz has recorded in his book *Kitābu'l-Bayān wa'ttab-yīn* that Ibn 'Abbād enquired from Manka, one of the Indian scholars in Baghdad, as to how the Indians defined eloquence. It is to be borne in mind that Arabs considered no one their match in eloquence. The reply was that they had a treatise on that subject but it could not be translated by them nor had they any practice in that art. Ibn 'Abbād, however, procured that treatise and got it translated. He has also given a brief summary of its contents. This indicates the extent to which during the Arab rule in India cultural and

educational relations existed between the rulers and the ruled. It is to be noted that the books translated from Sanskrit into Arabic included no fictions and novels; but only the works on philosophy and other branches of learning.

English language has been in vogue for the last one hundred years in India. The number of schools and colleges in each province has considerably increased as compared to the past and the number of students passing out annually runs into thousands. Yet we do not venture to render English sciences into our mother-tongue. There is considerable hue and cry that our language is too poor to provide equivalents for English technical terms. But the education which prevailed during Arab rule enabled the people to translate books written in their mother-tongue into the language of foreigners and the Muslims could easily coin technical terms. Medicine Physics and Mathematics were the main subjects translated from Sanskrit into Arabic, requiring the use of hundreds of technical terms. Some of the Sanskrit terms are still noticed in Arabic. For example, *Jaib* and *Awj* are Mathematical terms having their origin in *Jaiva* and *Awch* respectively. *Qubba-i-'Urin* represents the point on which the meridian line intersects the equator. It has its own history. This word was originally Ujjain which is a famous town in Malva. The astronomers of India regarded it as a point of intersection It was imported in Arabic as *'Uzin* and subsequently it changed to *'Urin*, by dropping the dot of the letter *zā* (z).

After Caliph Mu'taṣim, decadence of 'Abbāsides set in and the far-flung Indian territory became independent. Then followed a period of eclipse in the Muslim History of Sind and Multan until Sulṭān Maḥmūd's invasions. It was,

however, ascertained from the Muslim travellers that the whole territory was split up into numerous Hindu, Muslim and Ismā'īlī principalities which had friendly relations with one another. The raids by Sulṭān Maḥmūd were mainly directed to crush the *Ismā'ilis*. A brief account of some of the Arab travellers, who visited India before the commencement of Maḥmūd's invasions, is given below :—

Sulaimān (240 A.H./854 A.D.) and Abū Zaid (242 A.H./856 A.D.) passed through South Deccan and East Indies. Abu'l Ḥasan Mas'ūdī and Abū Isḥāq Astakhri reached India in 303 A.H. (915 A.D.) and 340 A.H.(951 A.D.) respectively. Abū Dalaf of Yanbūin passed through Kashmir, Multan and Sind, on his way back from China, in the middle of the fourth century A.H. and Bashshāri Muqadadasi visited the country towards the end of that century. He has described India as divided into five provinces, namely Makrān, Tūrān, Sind, Multan and Qannawj. Abū Raiḥān Bīrūni in his *Kitābu'l Hind* has given a lucid geographical account. He has mentioned the famous towns of the Punjab, Awadh and Bengal, giving their longitude and latitude. He has also spoken of Patliputra (Patna) and Mongher, besides Sangaldeep, Sind and Hamnant (the Himalayas).

These travellers have given some accounts of Multan, Mansura and Khambayat. One of them has mentioned a Raja of South India who, with the assistance of the Arab traders and travellers, got the holy *Qur'ān* translated into his own language. While giving an account of Khambāyat, Mas'ūdī has stated that the Raja was hospitable to the Muslims and he held religious discussions with them. Another traveller has written that in Multan there was no discrimination between the

Muslims and Hindus. Bīrūni stands out as a distinguished traveller for his visit to India and for the study of the Indian arts and sciences, although history reveals the name of some other persons of this type also. For instance, Ibn Ṣā'id writes about Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl Tanūkhi that he had visited India and returned after having studied some curious problems of astronomy advancing and retreating motions of stars including *Ḥarakat Iqbāl* and *Idb'ār*.

The Sanskrit book Sind-hind had reached Arabia through the Indian scholars before Ptolemy's *al-Majiste* and was best known among the Muslims. It was studied by two Arab scholars in 158 A.H. (774 A.D.). One of them was Ibrāhīm bin Ḥabīb Fizāri who was a descendant of Ḥaḍrat Sumra bin Jundab, a well-known companion of the Prophet, and the other was Ya'qūb bin Ṭāriq. Greater details have recently come to light partly through Bīruni's book *Al-Hind* and partly through the lecture delivered in Arabic on the progress of Astronomy among the Arabs in the university of Egypt by an Italian professor.

The original Sanskrit title of the *Sind-hind* was *Brahampat*-Sidhānt. The ancient Arab scholars adopted the second part of the name as *Sind-hind*. Later it was changed to *Al-Sind wal-Hind*. This book was written and presented by Braham Gupta to Raja Dayaghar in 6 A.H. (628 A.D.). The same Dayaghar has been mentioned as Malik Faighar in Arabic books.

The teaching of the *Sidhānta* was confined not to Baghdad but had reached as far as Spain along with the Muslim learning. 'Abdullāh bin Aḥmad Sarqisṭi (died 438

A.H./1046 A.D.), who was an authority on Geometry and Astronomy, wrote a critical treatise pointing out and correcting the errors in the book. But Ibn Ṣā'id of Spain rejected all the objections of 'Abdullāh bin Aḥmad and upheld the views of the *Sidhānta* as correct.

Ibn Ṣā'id's *Ṭa'baqātu'l-Umam* is the literary history of the middle ages, containing the historical account of the progress made by the various nations throughout the civilized world in the fields of sciences and arts. He died in 462 A.H. (1070 A.D.). After the *Kitābu'l Fihrist* by *Ibn al-Nadim*, no better book has ever been written on the subject. It appears to have been used as a reference book by the most Arab writers and yet only three of its manuscripts have so far been discovered in the whole Muslim world : one in London Museum, the other in Leeden Library and the third in the possession of a bookseller at Damascus. The last named manuscript was published in 1912 A.D. by a Christian scholar of Beirut after necessary corrections.

Ibn Ṣā'id says that only three out of a large number of the Indian books could reach his country due to long distance. One of them was the *Sind-hind* on Astronomy and Astrology, the other on music, the Indian title of which is *Nafir*(?) and the third was the *Kilila Dimna'* on moral and ethical theme. Out of the Indian sciences only Arithmetic reached Spain. In this connection it may be pointed out here that the Arabs learnt numerals from the Indians and so the numerals are called *Arqām-i-Hindiyyah*, and that the Westerns learnt them from the Arabs and so they are known in Europe as Arabic numerals.

The next stage in Arab History is marked with decline of the Arab power and the rise of the Turks, Mughuls and Pathans. This is discussed in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Before the advent of the Muslims in India the Hindus were so bigoted that they hated foreigners and considered them to be untouchable. No one could think at that time of the possibility of the Hindus becoming so enlightened, tolerant and cosmopolitan in their outlook, as to work together with an alien nation and to learn their culture and mode of life. But within a short period of about two hundred years they were completely changed. They sought employment under their Muslim rulers and attended the royal courts along with the Muslim scholars and thinkers. This practice of tolerance on their part gradually led them to their present position of educational advancement.

That the Hindus welcomed English education at the very beginning of British supremacy in India, was a direct outcome of the policy of the pre-British Muslim rule which had afforded them ample opportunities to overcome their conservatism and receive the cultural heritage, the Muslims had brought to them. As a result of their quest for knowledge, which had been engendered by their Muslim masters, they opened schools, colleges and other centres to learn English language and also went abroad to achieve this object. Had it been otherwise, it would have taken a very long time for the Hindus to get rid of their national and religious prejudices before getting reconciled to the Western civilization and culture.

The other advantage in the field of education extended by the Muslims to the Hindus was to nationalise it and provide requisite facilities at all the levels of the Hindu society. Formerly educational facilities were strictly restricted to Brahmins and the entry of other castes to the temple of knowledge was banned, so much so that a Shudra was punished by law with melted lead poured into his ears, if he would only hear a verse from their holy scriptures, the *Vedās*. But under the Muslims, education was made available with perfect equality and freedom to all castes including Brahmins, Khattaris, Kayasths and Banyas. It was not shut out even to the lowest strata of the Hindu society with the result that today non-Brahmins have equalled, if not surpassed, their brethren, the Brahmins. During the Muslim rule in India practically the same conditions existed and in certain respects Khattaris and Kayasths were educationally more advanced than the Brahmins.

The greatest benefit of the Muslim rule for the Hindus was that, apart from the multiplicity of the number, the scope of their arts and sciences was considerably enlarged. Without meaning to undermine the prestige of the ancient Hindus it can be asserted that the branches of learning in pre-Muslim India were extremely limited. History had no place in the Indian curriculum. Geography existed but nominally. Of course, philosophy, medicine, euclid, astronomy, metaphysics, poetry and music had been there. But in the first place instructions in these subjects were confined to the special class of people ; secondly, researches made by foreign nations in these subjects were absolutely unknown to them. The Muslim scholars and educationists developed a comprehensive syllabus after removing the prevailing defects. The first educational

pioneer among the Muslims in India was Bīrūni. He came here during the time of Maḥmūd Ghaznavi. It was the beginning of the Muslim rule in India and yet at that stage their payment of the loan of knowledge with interest to the Hindus, who had advanced it to Baghdad Caliphate in the second century A.H. (8th century A.D.) was considered necessary. In this connection the English translation of a relevant passage from Bīrūni's '*Kitabu' l-Hind*' is given below :—

" Being a foreigner I had to take my lessons from the Hindu Astronomers in the beginning; but soon after, having acquired working knowledge of their language, the position was reversed. Since I was well versed in astronomy and Mathematics, I soon began to instruct them. Pandits were much amazed and they wondered who had taught me those things. They did not easily believe that a foreigner could ever equal them in learning. They regarded me as a magician and called me ' The Sea of Knowledge' !

For the benefit of Pandits, Bīrūnī translated from Arabic into Sanskrit a number of books including a treatise on astrolabe, Ptolemy's *Almajest* and Euclid's treatise on geometry. Moreover, he wrote numerous pamphlets, covering about 120 pages containing replies to such questions as were raised by the Hindu Pandits relating to the subject of Astronomy. One of his pamphlets discusses that the order of numbers in Arabic is based on a more sound principle than that in Hindi.

Hindu Pandits were actuated to study Muslim culture more deeply with the expansion of the Muslim conquests in

India. Bhōjar, Brahmin of Benaras, came to Qāḍī Ruknud-dīn to pursue Islamic studies. The Qāḍī learned Sanskrit from Bhōjar and thus he translated the *Anbrat Kund* into Arabic.

Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidin, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in 826 A.H. (1422 A.D.) and on the relics of whose kingdom the Emperor Akbar raised the edifice of his empire, got many books translated into Hindi from the original Arabic and Persian. *Firishta* says, "He ordered most of the books in Arabic and Persian to be translated into Hindi. Sribhat, a capable physician, was patronized by the Sulṭān."

The hatred of the Hindus against the Muslims was so strong that they refused to accept employment at the courts of the Muslim Kings. These social and political barriers, resulting from a slavish bondage to customs, were first broken in the Deccan. The Muslim rulers extended patronage to the Hindu scholars, which policy gradually promoted amity and good-will. Gangū, Brahmin by caste and astrologer by profession, was taken at the court of Prince Muḥammad Tughlaq. Ḥasan Bahmani who laid the foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom in Deccan was beholden to this man. Thus the Brahmins of the Deccan became attached to the Bahmani rulers and eventually they gained monopoly of almost all the Government offices. *Firishta* says :

" It is a common knowledge that formerly the Brahmins had nothing to do with the Muslim rulers. Engaging them-selves in the pursuit of knowledge, particularly in the astronomi-cal studies, they lived a life of contentment in villages, on river

banks and other isolated places. They considered service under a temporal power, particularly under the Muslims, incompatible with righteousness and piety. If some of them by virtue of their being physicians, astrologers, preachers and story-tellers ever came in contact with the persons of power and authority, they were favoured and rewarded ; but they would not bind themselves to undertake employment under the Muslim rulers. The first Brahmin who accepted a service under the Muslim Kings was Gangū Pandit and up-till now (1010 A.H./1601 A.D.), unlike other parts of India, the Secretariat work in the Government of the Deccan is assigned to Brahmins.*

Persian, being generally the court language, was studied by the Hindu officials. Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh who was a ruler of the 'Ādil Shāhi dynasty in 942 A.H. (1535 A.D.) replaced Persian with Hindi and thus gave an upper hand to Brahmins in the State affairs.**

As for the North India, the Hindus began to study Persian during the reign of Sikandar Lūdi. History shows that for the education of the Hindu population no special arrangement had been made ever before. The hereditary system of education and the courses of study were allowed to continue undisturbed. In the Preface to the "Promotion of Learning in India" its author says: "The day was yet distant when we should find the Muhammadan rulers patronizing the education of their Hindu and Muslim subjects alike and encouraging with equal ardour the growth of other learning besides the

* 'Frishta' I, p. 278.

** Ibid. II, p. 27.

Muhammadan; but for about a century or two after the first Muhammadan conqueror had set foot on Indian soil, Hindu education and literature followed their own independent course supported by their own votaries."

But there are reasons to believe that the study of Persian had found favour with them much earlier. The accession of Firūz S̲h̲āh Tug̲h̲laq in 755 A.H. (1354 A.D.) was followed by the conquest of Kangra when the Sulṭān, on his visit to a volcano, happened to find a small library, from which he took some books and got them translated into Persian. According to the *Siyaru'l Muta'ak̲h̲k̲h̲irin* "the Sultan summoned the scholars of that community to the court and had the contents of some of these books explained to him. Then they were ordered to translate some of them into Persian".

Anyhow, a regular and popular system of Persian studies was introduced in the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdi who established mosques, schools and markets at the bathing places of the Hindus and made education compulsory for the army. These measures resulted in spreading and popularising Persian learning among them. *Firis̲h̲ta* says:

"During his (Sikandar Ludi's) auspicious reign learning was promoted. Nobles, officers and soldiers engaged themselves in intellectual pursuits, while the Hindus learnt to read and write Persian which, until then, had not been adopted by them."*

The Hindus had a good time under S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āh. He treated them with considerable generosity. As in the Deccan, they

* 'Firishta', Vol. I, p. 148.

were appointed to the posts of trust and responsibility. Raja Tōdarmal, who was later included among Akbar's *Nawratan* (Nine Jewels), had been trained by S͟hīr S͟hāh. He worked as his minister of revenue.

During the reign of the Mughuls the education of the Hindus received more powerful impetus and reached its zenith. The knowlege of Persian language became the possession of a common man. Important educational centres were located in big cities, such as Thatta, Multan and Benaras for instruction in Sanskrit and religious studies, besides Persian language. They drew the students from far and wide. The rulers of Tīmūr's dynasty liberally patronized the learned irrespective of caste and creed. The Hindus were admitted to the same order of peerage as the Muslims in the royal court. Abu'l-Faḍl has mentioned the following names of the Hindu scholars in his A'in-i-Akbari.*

Mahadeo, Bhīmnāth, Narā'in, Sivji, Mādho, Rām Chandra, Sri Bhat, Mādho, Sarswati, Jadrup, Bishan Nath, Madsudan, Ram Kishan, Nara'in Asaram, Balbhadar Misra, Harji Sūr, Bāsdeo Misra, Dāmodar Bhat, Bahān Bhat, Rām Tīrath, Budh Nawās, Narsingh, Gōri Nāth, Baram Indra, Gopīnāth, Bijey Sen Sur, Kishan Pandit, Nihal Chandra, Bhatta Charya, Kāshi Nāth and Devi Brahman. The person, last named, translated the great Indian epic, *Mahābhārat*, into Persian.

To the court of Akbar, the Great, were attached following Hindu experts of the art of painting and engraving, besides

* The correctness of the pronunciation of these names is not vouchsafed.

the Muslims:—

Wasvant Kumār, Wisavan, Kesho Lāl, Mukand, Mādh u' Jagan, Mahesh, Khim Karan, Tāra, Saonla, Harībans and Rām.

It is noteworthy that just as several Sanskrit works were translated into Arabic, similarly so many books were rendered into Sanskrit from Arabic and Persian. For example, Mirza Ulugh Beg's *Zīj*, which is the last and authoritative work on Astronomy, was translated into Sanskrit by a body of Muslim and Hindu scholars including Kishan Jotishi, Ganga Dhar, Mahesh and Mahanand.

Jehāngīr was also equally liberal in his patronage of the Hindus of letters. He would walk to the hut of Jadrup Goshā'īn, a reputed scholar of *Vedanta*, and sit in his company for hours. While riding, if he came across a *Sannyāsi* (Hermit), he would get down to see him. Once he happened to meet a number of *Jōgis* (Ascetics) while making a journey. He encamped there for the night and devoted all the time to conferring with them as mentioned in his *Tuzuk*.

Rā'i Manohar Lal, son of Rā'i Laun Karan, who had been educated and brought up under the patronage of the royal court, attained excellence in Persian versification and caligraphy. A Hindu poet was introduced in Jehangir's court by Rāja Sūraj Singh. The king was very glad to listen to some Hindi verses recited by him and honoured him with a royal present of an elephant. Bishandās, a distinguished engraver attached to his court, was another recipient of the royal favours. He was deputed to Iran as an exponent of the Indian art of engraving.

Later we see that the court of Dārā Shukūh was always full of Hindu scholars and poets. He was himself adept in the Hindu art and learning and so he encouraged and patronised them. Chandra Bhān, a Brahmin by caste and having 'Brahmin' for his pen-name, was exalted to the high office of Poet-Laureate in his court. His poetic composition is characterised with elegance of language and lucidity of expression After the assassination of Dārā Shukūh, he left the royal court and settled in Benaras where he died in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.).

In the regime of Muḥammad Shāh observatories were set up at Dehli, Benaras and Ujjain by Jai Singh, the ruler of Jaipur. Of these, only one at Benaras has survived the the ravages of time and it continues to serve in connection with the fixation of Hindu festivals and determination of appropriate time and date for the performance of marriages.

Jai Singh got some Arabic books on Astronomy translated into Hindi. Under the Muslim rulers education of the Hindus thus continued to progress unimpeded. Their desire to learn Persian and Arabic, as well as their interest in Poetry, Mathematics, Script and Caligraphy, was on the increase. Every respectable Hindu would receive some sort of education normally. Although they displayed some interest in the collection of books and the establishment of libraries before the advent of the Muslims in India, yet it was as a result of their contact with the Muslims that their interest was considerably accentuated. In the chateaux of the Hindu nobles a personal library was considered essential along with other furnishings. Remnants of such libraries are still found with

a good number of families in Lahore, Dehli, Lucknow, Patna and Decca. Some Arabic manuscripts are still possessed by the descendants of the old Hindu nobles in Patna. From Raja Shitāb Rā'i, Governer of Bihar, has passed down to his heirs the ancestral collection of books of great importance and rarity.

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CHAPTER III

After having surveyed the conditions prevailing in the northern and southern sectors of India, including Kashmir, let us pass on to Bengal, the pride of our country.

Bengali is the richest of all the Indian languages in regard to its scope and wealth of literature. But one is amazed to learn that its development begins with the beginning of the Muslim rule in Bengal. Before that, Bengali could not claim even a single written page to its credit. Even the foundation of this language had not been laid on a sound footing during the long period preceding the conquest of Bengal by the Muslims. In support of this assertion we may give here some extracts from Mr. N. N. Law's *History of the Promotion of Learning Muhammadan Rule in India.**

"The efforts of the rulers of Bengal were not confined to the promotion of Muhammadan learning alone for they also directed their fostering care for the advancement of letters into a new channel. which is of particular interest to the Bengali-speaking people. It may seem to them an anomaly that their language should owe its elevation to a literary status, not to themselves but to the Muhammadans, whose interest was evoked by merely a sense of the curious, and was indirectly roused by its connection with Sanskrit, which

* Promotion of learning pp. 107 and further.

formed a most cherished treasure of the vast Hindu population with whom they had come into frequent contact."

" It was the epics—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*—that first attracted the notice of the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal at whose instance they were translated into Bengali, the language of their domicile. The first Bengali rendering of the *Mahabharata* was ordered by Nāṣir Shāh of Bengal (1282—1326 A.D.) who was a great patron of the vernacular of the province, and whom the great poet Vidayapati has immortalized by dedicating to him one of his songs. Vidayapati also makes a respectful reference to Sulṭān Ghyasuddīn, most probably Sulṭan Ghyasuddīn II of Bengal (1367—1373A.D.)."

"...It is doubtful whether a Muslim ruler of Bengal or the Hindu Raja Kansa Narayana appointed Kirttivasa to translate the Ramayana into Bengali; even if the latter story be true it is undoubted that Muslim precedents influenced the action of the Raja."

" Emperor Hussain Shāh was a great patron of Bengali. Maladhar Basu was appointed by him to translate the Bhagvata Purans into Bengali...Pargal Khan, a general of Hussain Shāh, and Paragal's son Chhuti Khan have made themselves immortal by associating their names with the Bengali translation of a portion of the Mahabharata."

" Pargal Khan used to invite his courtiers every evening to his palace at Paragalpur in Feni, to hear the recitation of the Bengali Mahabharata by the translator Kavindra Paramesvara. Under Paravgal, the epic was translated up to the Stri Parva, but Chhuti Khan, who succeeded Paragal in the governorship of Chittagong, followed up the work by

appointing a poet named Sri Karna Nandi, whom he ordered to translate the Asvamedh Parva."

"Examples of Bengali translation of Sanskrit and Persian books at the instance of Muslim chiefs are not rare. They served to remove the superciliousness with which Bengali was regarded by the Sanskrit-loving Brahmins and the Hindu Rajas. The latter imitated the Muhammadan rulers and chiefs in patronising the Bengali writers, and it became the fashion to keep 'Bengali court poets'. Many distinguished Bengali poets and writers have since adorned the courts of Hindu Rajas and raised Bengali to a high place and made it a rival of the languages that had already established their footing."*

The above policy had the effect of making Arabic and Persian studies a distinct accomplishment to be acquired by the Bengali nobles, specially by those families who enjoyed ancestral right for holding high official positions and *jāgīrs*. The descendants of Mahārāja Sarjū Kantra Achārji Tākī, Mahārāja Jutindra Mōhan Tagore and Mahārāja Nāvā Krishna were the patrons of the Arabic and Persian learning and literature of which they had themselves made a profound study. Rāja Rām Mōhan Rā'i, the founder of Brahmo Samāj and Rāja Kaisheb Chandar Sen, a great reformer, was well conversant with Islamic studies. *Mawlānā* Ḥabību'r-Raḥmān Khān Shewānī in his speech delivered in the Nadwa Conference at Madras in 1917 expressed his views as under :—

"Rāja Rām Mōhan Rā'i opened the way to renaissance in Bengal. This is a well-known fact that he learnt Arabic in Patna. In the last winter a Bengali Hindu of repute informed me that until the time of his father and uncle, Bengalis from

* Promotion of Learning—pp. 107 and further.

Calcutta continued to go out in good number for the study of Arabic and that, accordingly, his uncle completed his education in Arabic at the age of 15 years.

Grish Chandra Ghosh translated the Holy Qur'ān, the Tadhkiratu'l-Anbi'ā and the Mishkāt into Bengali. Naturally, therefore, Bengali language was enriched with Arabic and Persian words, relating, particularly, to the state administration and legal proceedings. They are now being slowly replaced by English terms. The very fact that certain Arabic and Persian terms have stayed through a period of about two hundred years of British supremacy in Bengal bears out that English language had no synonyms to offer connating the same meaning and sense. Again the retention of Persian surnames, such as *Malik*, *'Uhdihdār*, *Sarkār*, *Muzamdār*, etc., show how deeply they loved the language of their rulers.

It is a matter of great surprise that Marhatti, the language of the Marhattas, who were the most formidable enemy of the Muslims and who hated their language and culture, owes its development more than any other language to the benevolence of the Muslims. They were a wild and vulgar race and so had to learn civil etiquette and polished manners from their rulers in spite of their hostilities against them. Since the Marhatti language was too poor to serve effectively as a court language in the vast territories occupied by the Marhattas, it had to be enriched with Persian vocabulary by the Muslims and the Brahmins alike who possessed proficiency in the Persian language. The *farmāns* of the Marhatta Rājas are replete with Persian and Arabic words in original or distorted form. Today old Marhatti literature can hardly be

understood even by the most educated Marhattas because of the Arabic and Persian words used therein freely.

The state institutes and the official, industrial, the commercial and the domestic writings of Marhatti are full of the Arabic and Persian words. The late Professor Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir, M.A., of Bombay University, who knew the Marhatti language, was writing a dictionary of the language, the perusal of which shows at once that the language whether spoken in the courts, the libraries, the schools the market or the factories was replete with Arabic and Persian words. Right from confectioners to smiths and carpenters all used Arabic and Persian words for their instruments and cultural objects. Originally Marhatti had no word for 'history'. Now they use for it *Bākhur* which, according to the philologists, is a corrupted form of the Arabic word *Khabar* (News).

There are still to be seen numerous Hindu families in Maharashtra whose ancestors distinguished themselves with their devotion and service to Persian language and they have continued their Persian surnames, *e.g. Pharnis* for *Fard Nawis*, *Chitnis* for *Chithi Nawis*, *Kaladār* for *Qal'adār*, *Siladār* for *Silahdār*.

The following designations of public officers are still current in the Deccan and freely used by the Marhattas and the Brahmins :—

Muqaddam for Chōdhrī ; *Faujdār* for Sub-Inspector ; *Muāmlāhdār* for *Taḥṣildār* ; *Nājir* for *Nāẓir* ; *Kārkun* for *Muḥarrir*; *Sarsadar* for, *Sarishtadār*; *Diwān* for Secretary.

In this connection the State of Hyderabad Deccan must be mentioned for her great contribution towards the educational and cultural progress of her Hindu subjects. The part played by her in that direction surpasses all that was done for their Muslim subjects by all the Hindu States taken together. Besides mass education, which had the effect of multiplying the number of Hindu officials in Government Offices, higher education imparted to the Hindus, with no restriction whatsoever, had produced a body of writers and poets in that community. This is corroborated by the printed catalogues maintained in the Āṣafiyyah Library wherein mention has been made of the following luminaries :—

Munshī Lakshmi Narā'in 'Shafīq', author of the *'Bisāṭu'l-Ghanā'im* and the History of the Deccan, 2. Lāla Girdhāri Lāl, author of the History of the Deccan, 3. Rā'i Manna Lāl, author of the History of the Deccan, 4. Lāla Lakshmī Narā'in, author of the *Chamanistān-i-Shu'arā*, 5. Rāja Girdhāri Prasad 'Bāqi', a poet of repute. 6, Mahārāja Chandu Lāl 'Shān', author of the *Kulliyāt*, 7. Nand Rām, author of the *Siyāq Nāmah*, 8. Jagan Nāth, author of the *Taqwīmu't-Tawārīkh*, 9. Rā'i Bachchu Lāl 'Tamkīn', a well-known poet, 10. Ratan Lāl, author of *Ta'shtiṭu'l-Bilād*.

It can be claimed without the fear of contradiction that the Hindus and Muslims in the provinces of Bihar, Oudh, Agra and Delhi enjoyed the facilities of education in equal measure. The names of innumerable Hindu scholars of these parts of the sub-continent are to be found in the biographical works. Only the city of Lucknow in Oudh produced Hindu poets in hundreds. The Hindus of Kashmiri stock at Lucknow were particularly interested in the Persian learning. The names

of some of the illustrious writers, poets of Persian who flourished at Lucknow and some other towns are mentioned below :—

Rāja Ulfat Rā'i 'Ulfat', Kāli Prasād 'Ikhlāṣ', Lāl Chand 'Uns', Rāja Gangā Prasād 'Badr', Munshī Khayāli Rām 'Khayāli', Bakhtāwar Singh 'Rāqim', Maikū Lāl 'Ulfat', Rām Sahā'i 'Rawnaq', Mēdū Lāl 'Zār', Rāja Jiyā Lāl 'Gulshan', Rāja Kālka Prasād 'Mūjid', Mushīyu'l-Mamālik Rāja Jawāla Prasād 'Waqār' of Lucknow, Munnan Lāl 'Āfrīn' Allahābādi, Rā'i Amar Singh 'Khushdil' Manakpuri, Gōkal Chand 'Hindu' Farukhābādi, Rāja Madan Singh 'Mauzūn' of Itawa, Rā'i Gulāb Rā'i 'Gulshan' of Sandila, Sukhkhan Lāl 'Mūjid' of Badā'ūn, Lāla Baijnāth 'Mushtaq' of Bareilly, Lāla Rām Bakhsh 'Muṭī'' of Qannawj, Lāla Bālmukand 'Shahīd' of Manikpur, Munshi Ishwarī Dās 'Ārām' of Farukhābād, Indaraman of Awrangābād, Chandar Bhān Brahmin, Sheo Rām 'Ḥayā' and Rā'i Manōhar of Agra, Lāla Ujāgar 'Ulfat', Rāja Piyare Lāl 'Ulfati', Rāja Bahādur 'Rāja', Rāja Rām Narā'in 'Mawzūn' and Beni Prasād 'Dil' of Patna.

Here Pandit Madan Mōhan Mālvi, a well-known Hindu leader of Allahabad, would have been advised to have remembered that the first Hindu leader of the United Provinces, Pandit Ajodhia Nāth, who practised Law like him in the same city and who initiated him in the political life of the country, was well versed in Arabic and Persian literatures. He delivered lectures on the Congress platforms on one hand and taught lessons on Mutanabbi and 'Urfi at home on the other.

The Punjab also did not remain behind in producing Hindu scholars, such as Wārasta of Sialkot, author of '*Muṣṭalaḥāt' sh-Shu'arā*', a Persian dictionary of political idoms,

Wāmiq Khattari, pupil of Mulla 'Abdu'l Ḥakīm of Sialkot and Munshi Lachhmi Narā'in Dabīr Ganjāwi of Lahore. Lachhmi Narā'in was a great scholar of philosophy and Wārasta devoted 30 years of his life to the research of Persian idioms.

Delhi presents a long list of Hindu men of letters, such as Munshi Mādhō Rām, Munshi Rā'i Manohar Lāl 'Manohar', Mirza Rāja Kidar Nāth 'Nasīm' (mark the title of Mirza for a Hindu), Rāja Gōpāl Nāth 'Ghulām', Pūran Lāl 'Rangīn', Bahādur Singh, 'Dilkhush', Lāla Chunni Dās 'Dharra', Sheo Singh 'Bīgān,' Lāla Narā'in Dās 'Bīkhud', Sukhrāj 'Sabqat', Munshi Gawhar Lāl 'Tufta', etc.

As for the educational system in the villages, it was the same as exists today. A village teacher, popularly called *Gurūji*, an employee of the landlord or was paid by the contribution of the entire population of the village. Children would squat either in the verandah attached to a *kachcha* house or under some shady trees on the mud-plastered ground. Each had a black painted wooden board and a dry piece or paste of chalk. All writing was done either on the surface of the ground or on the wooden board. That was how reading, writing multiplication table were taught in Hindi to a village child at the primary stage.

General education ended at the primary stage. But the students who chose to continue their studies further, either learnt Sanskrit or Persian, the state language. For the teaching of Persian there were *Maktabs* in villages where both Hindu and Muslim teachers were employed. The latter would naturally be in majority and were generally called '*Miyānji*'. The text-books prescribed for elementary educa-

tion in Persian contained lessons on conversations, letter writing and stories on ethical topics. Children of both the communities studied together with perfect unity and harmony. The syllabus included the *Gulistān, Būstān, Yūsuf Zulaiḵha, Inshā'-i-Khalifa, Bahār Dānish, Akhlāq-i-Nāṣiri, Anwār Suhāili, Sikandar Nāma, Shāh Nāma* etc. Emphasis was laid on caligraphy and Persian Composition. To give a practice in reading manuscripts, the teacher had a long roll of about 200 letters to be read by the students. This was secondary education.

After this stage the students either undertook some job or joined some important centres of education in big cities to prosecute higher courses of study in Persian literature, poetry and other branches of learning under the guidance of some eminent scholars. They studied some Arabic books as well.

Abu'l-Faḍl in his *Ā'in-i-Akbari* has given the curriculum followed in his time as under :—

Ethics, Accounts, Mathematics, Agriculture, Euclid, Mensuration, Astronomy, Astrology, Revenue Laws, State Administration, Medicine, Physics, Metaphysics and History. In addition to these subjects Hindu students had to study *Vyakaran* (Sanskrit Grammar), *Vedānta* (Hindu Mysticism and Ethics) and *Patanjali* (Hindu Philosophy). This sort of higher education, according to Abu'l-Faḍl, raised the status of the whole empire. This higher education may be regarded as the college education of the time.

In order to give the reader some idea as to how students got education in those days, here is given an English

translation of a few lines from an account written in Persian regarding the education of Munshi Lachchmi Narā'in 'Dabīr' :—

"His father and grandfather occupied distinguished positions of trust with the princes and nobles in Delhi. In early childhood Dabīr was a student of *Mawlawi* Shaikh Muḥammad. At the age of 12 he studied the Persian literature with Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Ali Khan 'Ārzū' and took lessons in Grammar from Lāla Tēk Chand 'Bahār'. After attaining the age of discretion, he devoted himself to the study of medicine and other sciences under the reputed scholars of his time. He died in 1205 A.H. (1790 A.D.)."

The mutual attachment and fraternal unity fostered between the students of the two great Hindu and Muslim communities under a common teacher during the Muslim reign in India can scarcely be noticed even at the magnificent centres of education of these days. It will be interesting to quote here the names of some of the devoted pupils of Muḥammad Hafīz Khān, a teacher of great eminence, who died in 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.). Mir Abu'l-Ḥasan, Munshi Lachchman Singh, Mīr Kallan, Qādir Bukhsh, Pandit Lachchmi Rām, Muḥammed Ismā'īl, Lāla Tukh Rām, Munshi Kishan Singh, Muḥammad Taqī and Munshi Maḥbūb Rā'i. It is to be noted how significant and lovely the last name is symbolising, as it does, the goodwill and affinity that pervaded Hindu-Muslim relations in those days.

Lāla Chunni Dās 'Dharra' was another talented teacher in Delhi whose *maktab* attracted the children of both religions alike. Munshi Sōhan Lāl taught Persian to no less a personal-

ity than *Mawlānā Mufti* Muḥammed Luṭfullāh, the last of the long chain of the Indian erudite scholars. The *Mawlānā* had in his turn Jai Behāri Lāl Kāyasth along with the Muslims on rolls of his worthy pupils who treated their class-fellows with fraternal regard and affection.

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CHAPTER IV

This chapter opens with the free English translation of an extract from Chapter III of the *Indian Civilization* by a French historian, Monsieur Lieuban, wherein he comments upon the Hindu art and learning as under :—

> This book cannot be expected to contain as many chapters as the Arab civilization does on art and learning. We were specially interested in the progress of knowledge achieved during the Arab rule since they did not only develop Greek and Latin learning, but also disseminated it throughout Europe. This is not the case with the Indian learning. On the contrary, the old accepted opinion about their learning has undergone a change to a considerable extent. It had been revealed that their ideas were borrowed from those people with whom they came in touch without any contribution of their own. Hence a research in the Indian learning of any particular period would mean an enquiry about the learning of those nations who had some relation with India at that time. And this topic is beyond the purview of our book. From what has been stated about the mental condition and attitude of the Hindus,

it would easily be understood why they made little or no progress in such branches of studies as were introduced in India from outside. The Hindu mind, which is penetrative in philosophy with a quick grasp for arts, is devoid of the quality which is essential for research and which constitutes the basis of all knowledge and learning. They have always suffered from this draw-back. They are capable of assimilating what others discover in the domain of knowledge but without making any further improvement upon it. It appears that the Hindus drew their knowledge from the Greek and Arab sources. It is not known how Greek learning reached India but the style of architecture in Northern and Western India suggests that relations between India and Bacteria had been maintained since long. It is highly probable that Greek learning was introduced in India through Bacterian Channels. Darah Mahar, an ancient Hindu geometrician, who lived in Ujjain in the 6th century A.D., had used some Greek technical terms in his book on astronomy and has made references to Greek writers. It is, however, easier to understand how Arab learning passed on to India, Arabs had developed commercial relations with India long before the commencement of the Christian era and they also served as a means to link up the West with the East. Later, when the Muslims conquered the whole of the old

world, these relations continued undisturbed as before.

Arab historians have proved that many Hindu scholars were attached to the court of the Caliphs in Baghdad. Later, when the Muslims established their rule in India, the Muslim scholars continued to propagate knowledge throughout the country. In the 11th century A.D. Al-Bīrūnī who was a contemporary of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, the first conqueror of India, travelled all over the country. He introduced different branches of Arab learning, which had by that time spread throughout in consequence of the incorporation of Arab researches with the heritage of the ancient times. Accordingly it would be fair to say that after 1100 A.D. Indian learning meant Arabic learning. It can, therefore, be asserted that the Indian learning, which was originated with the work of Āryābhat in Mathematics and developed by Braham Gupta in the 7th century A.D., is still restricted to such problems as had been discussed by these two Mathematicians. The works produced by the Hindu writers, which are still available, show that they did not make much contribution of their own. Formerly it was claimed that Indian astronomy was highly developed and was very old. But now this theory had been disproved and so any discussion on this point will take us nowhere. If any new proposition has at all

been propounded in these works, that too has been left undeveloped and unproved. For instance Āryābhat speaks of the rotation of the earth without advancing any argument, whatsoever, to prove it. Similarly in the 12th century A.D. Sabhā Sukar Charya referred to the system in Mathematics, known as Calculus, without explaining it at all.

What has been stated above proves beyond doubt that the Hindus added nothing noteworthy to human knowledge. When they themselves have made no researches, it is futile to discuss their learning or examine such theories as have been imported from the Greek and Arab works of research. Of course, they made considerable progress in practical fields, though they have lagged behind in the field of learning.

Here it seems necessary to clarify certain points. The term 'Arab', used in the above passage, signifies 'Muslims'. This misleading term has been used by the other European writers also. The period of the ancient Arab relations with India, as mentioned by the author, refers to the pre-Islamic age when Arab traders performed the functions of an ambassador or a mediator between the East and the West or between India and China on one hand and Rome and Greece on the other. They carried their merchandise from Europe to India and China and took back the Indian manufactures to the European countries. As the natural outcome of such relations, the ancient Indians must have been influenced to some extent by the Arab civilization.

The signs of the Arab cultural influence in ancient India are noticeable in the inscriptions as well as in the written documents. The oldest Indian documents now available are those inscriptions which, issued as religious commandments by Asoka (253 B.C.) of the Moryan dynasty of Magadh (Bihar), are seen engraved on the hills and the pillars throughout the length and breadth of India from Peshawar to Gujrat and the Deccan. Character experts hold that this ancient Indian script has emanated from the Aramaean branch of the Semitic script. But the language used therein was Pāli of ancient Bihar which was the language of the Buddhist scripture.

All the Aryan scripts are written from left to right but—and this is significant—these inscriptions follow a reverse order, *i.e.* are written from right to left, like the Semitic script.* This is another proof of the fact that the entire written material of ancient India owes its existence to the Arabs. More surprising and indeed more convincing is that document which has been presented by Mahābhārat.** Swami Dayānand in his *Satyārath Prakash*, (*Samolas* XI) writes that when the Korawas attempted to burn alive the Pandavas in a house, made of lac and erected for the purpose, then Buddariji informed Yudhishtra of the plot in Arabic and the latter made a reply to the former in the same language. Should the veracity of Swāmīji's statement be unchallengeable, we are too glad to know that the language of the *Malikshās* (the untouchables) was once regarded so holy that the distinguished incarnations of deities spoke it and used it as a means of communication of secret matters.

* Encyclopædia Brittan, Vol. XXIV, p. 159 (Ed. II).

** Part I, Adhya, p. 147.

However, these events relate to pre-historic times and as such, it is doubtful if the modern world would accept them as authentic. It is, therefore, necessary to narrate the events belonging to the realm of history. It is worth while to analyse and examine from historical view-point the light of knowledge which flooded the country on the conquest of India by the Muslims ; so that the real position might be driven home to every unprejudiced and enlightened person. It is proposed to discuss chronologically in the following lines all the branches of knowledge together with the system of education introduced in India by the Muslims. The best and perhaps the easiest approach would be to enumerate and examine the Hindu authors of that time in order to have an idea of their position and number. Moreover, there is no other way so effective to obtain a true picture of the educational conditions prevailing in any period of the past.

It is not to be denied that in the pre-Muslim Period beginning with the rise of Buddhist religion, there lived a good number of Hindu writers. The schools set up here and there, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, functioned as preaching centres of Buddhism. When Shankar Āchārya, wiping out Buddhism and Jainism, revived the Vedic religion, Sanskrit started gaining ground in place of Pāli, which had been the language of the people professing Buddhism. Then followed an outburst of religious ferver stimulating a widespread interest in composition and compilation. This enabled the Sanskrit language, which had been limited until then to hymns, prayers and incantations, to extend itself to the province of philosophy and sciences. In spite of this, barring the religious works, Sanskrit can scarcely claim more than

what can be contained in a few almirahs. There were only two or three books on several branches of knowledge intermingled with myth and legend. This is corroborated by the statements of the Sanskrit-knowing Muslim scholars and European orientalists as well as by the existing material collected from the field of this language. The largest collection made of the Sanskrit books—both in print and manuscript at the Poona College Library—hardly exceeds 888 volumes inclusive of religion and other subjects.

It were the Muslims who told them that books could also be written besides mythical stories and legendary tales. The ancient works had mostly monopolised by the Brahmins; but the extension of educational facilities to all other castes secured for them the right of freedom in the matter of acquisition of knowledge. To learn the language of the Muslims and to visit a Jain temple was, at first, considered to be more dangerous than to fight a duel with a furious elephant. However, their prejudice, as already stated elsewhere, gradually disappeared and after hundreds of years the Persian learning appeared to gain popularity from the time of Sikandar Lūdi. Now it is proposed to discuss the development of different subjects among the Hindus as the fruits of Persian education in the following pages.

★★★★

HISTORY

History is one of the subjects towards which the Hindu mind was never attracted. Lieuban goes so far as to hold opinion that Hindu mind is devoid of an aptitude for this subject. Āryāvarth is one of the oldest cradles of human civilization. If the Hindus here had been possessed of a capacity for the preservation of the great achievements of the past, many of the traditional beliefs would not have been so intricate and confusing for us. In order, therefore, to gain some knowledge about the past we have to depend upon the Greek and Chinese travellers. We possess no means of our own to acquaint ourselves with the past history. We cannot collect even an iota of historical knowledge regarding the ages of the remote past either from the ancient writings of the *Vedās* or the legal codes of the *Manū-shastras* or the charming narrations of the *Mahābhārat* or even the pathetic stories of the *Rāmāyana* and the lovely *Upanishad.*

There is nothing beyond surmises to guide us, in our effort to get an idea of the political revolution or to know something about the provincial governors, or distinguished scholars and thinkers. Even the dates of their birth and death and principal life events cannot be ascertained. The *Pūrānās* give short biographical accounts of only a few saints and hermits but that cannot be treated as history.

With the advent of the Muslims there begins a historical era in a country, devoid of historical records throwing a flood of light in every nook and corner of Āryaverta. Excluding the Muslim rulers, nobles, scholars, poets and other celebrities, Muslim historians and biographers have left the historical accounts of so many Hindu rajas, pandits, poets and nobles that it can be justly claimed that the Hindu mythological scholars and nobles of innumerable periods of Hindu India do not number as many as those mythological Hindu scholars and nobles flourishing in a period of 500 years following the landing of the Muslims on Indian soil. The number of the latter is as double or treble as that of the former. If only those who flourished during the reign of Tīmūr's dynasty are taken into account, we shall require at least two or three volumes to describe their activities and achievements. The Muslim authors, though aliens, have given such a long list of Hindu poets with their biographical sketches in one single language of Persian that it would be too tiring if all of them are enumerated here.

Today the publicity and propaganda of the Europeans regarding their espousal of the cause of freedom and equality has pervaded the whole world. They claim, as a special feature of their rule, the present universal dissemination of knowledge in the countries conquered and administered by them. We accept it. But at the same time, we would invite the Hindus to scrutinise the list of English books from page to page and look into the volumes of the *Encyclopaedia* and historical and biographical works in order to ascertain how many of their writers, thinkers and poets have been mentioned therein. Then, as the result of all the search and scrutiny, it will have

to be conceded that it was the impartial treatment of the 'tyrant' iconoclasts, the 'untouchable' Muslims, in the matter of acquisition of knowledge that brought about equal facilities and status for both the Muslim and Hindu scholars. Not only that, but both the groups were equally admitted to, and assigned position in, the royal courts without any discrimination, whatsoever.

Besides this, the commendable interest displayed and fostered for historical studies by the Muslims kindled an enthusiasm amongst the Hindus for the development of the subject of history with the result that the libraries in Europe and India provide today a valuable stock of historical knowledge. Again, if we examine the catalogues of the libraries maintained in Hyderabad, Bankipur, Calcutta and London, we shall discover a great deal about the Hindu authors who wrote in Persian and who were the products of the educational and literary efforts made during the Muslim rule in India. First of all, let us deal with the Hindu historians in the following lines :—

Rāj Tirangni :

This was the first book on the history of Kashmir written in Hindi by a Hindu author named Kulhānā during the time of Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, who ascended the throne in 826 A.H.(1422 A.D.).* It was presented to Akbar, the Great, on the occasion of his visit to Kashmir and subsequently translated under his orders into Persian. As maintained by Abu'l-Faḍl, it covers a period of 5 thousand years in the history of Kashmir.**

* 'Firishta', Vol. II, p. 344.

** 'A'in-i-Akbari', Vol. II, p. 181.

There was a special post of history writer under Kashmir administration and the book in question is its first fruit. The original text has been printed in France and India and its Persian rendering also exists in print.

Lāla Jai Dās :

Lāla Jai Dās was a pupil of Bābālāl, a spritual leader who lived in the time of Shāh-jahān. Prince Dārā Shukūh also owed allegiance to him. The Bābā was born in 1014 A.H. (1685 A.D.) and died in 1059 A.H. (1649 A.D.). Lālā Jai Dās compiled in Persian the biographical accounts and precepts of his teacher in 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.), the manuscript of which can be seen in the Government Collection Library.

Banwāli Dās Wali :

Banwāli Dās held the office of *Mīr Munshī* (Chief Secretary) to Prince Dārā Shukūh. Some writers have mentioned his name as Bhawānī Dās, while the cataloguer of the Āṣafiyyah Library has named him Wali Rām Gosāin Dārā Shukūhi. However, Banwāli and Bhawāni signify only two different readings and Wali, which is his pen name. has been added to his name.

He wrote a history of the kings of Delhi under the title of *Rāja Dilli*. The book is authentic and has been quoted by many reliable historians. Its manuscripts are available in many libraries.

Rā'i Bindrāban :

Rā'i Bindrāban was the son of Rā'i Bhārāmal who

was honoured with the title of Rā'i in recognition of his yeoman services in 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.). Dārā Shukūh appointed him as his *Dīwān*. His son was brought up and trained by Aurangzib. He was awarded the title of Rā'i like his grand-father. Bindrāban has left a book entitled *Lubbu't-Tawārikh*, written in good literary Persian.

Isardās :

Isardās belonged to Nagar community and lived in Patna. He has himself stated that from childhood to the age of thirty he pursued his studies under Qāḍī Shaikhu'l-Islām, son of 'Abdu'l Wahāb. He would listen with rapt attention to the discussions held among the nobles and scholars visiting the great Qāḍī. After the completion of his studies he was appointed to the high office of *Amin* (Revenue Collector) in Jodhpur on the recommendation of Shujā'at Khān, the Governor of Gujrat. He possessed a hand as strong in wielding the sword as in holding the pen. Consequently he made a name in the battle-field and was allotted a *jagir* in Meerut with a high military rank. During the peace-time of Aurangzib's rule the same military officer once again appeared playing the role of a scholar and wrote a book entitled *Futūḥāt-i-'Alamgirī* which has perpetuated his memory.

Bhimsen Kāyesth :

Bhimsen Kāyesth, son of Raghunandan Dās, was born at Burhanpur, Deccan, in 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.). One of his relatives, named Bhagvandas, entitled Diyānat Rā'i, held the office of Dīwān in the court of Aurangzib. He was employed by Rā'i Dalpat, the Governor of Sandila. This Rā'i Dalpat

was of a great use in the Deccan war and so Aurangzib made him a Commander of a regiment of 30 thousand men with the title of Rā'o.

Bhimsen, although Kāyesth by caste, acted very successfully as the officer-in-charge of Naldarak fort. He retired from service in 1120 A.H. (1708 A.D.) to live a secluded life at his home. It was then again that he got some leisure to devote to authorship. Accordingly he wrote a book, entitled *Dil-Kushā*, which gives a historical account of the reign of Aurangzib and is still available.

Narā'in Kaul 'Ajiz :

Narā'in Kaul 'Ājiz was a resident of Kashmir. In the preface of his book he writes, "The nobles in Kashmir had pressed me long to write a history of their homeland. At last I undertook the responsibility on the persistent request of my countrymen. At the same time Malik Ḥaider collected some matter from Sanskrit sources under the orders of 'Ārif Khān who held the combined offices of Diwan and Lieutenant-Governor. It was placed at my disposal. But on the scrutiny I found it liable to correction. Eventually I incorporated it in my book after checking it with the help of the Sanskrit sources. Thus the history of Kashmir was completed in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.)."

Munshi Hirāman Gurū Hardās :

Munshi Hīrāman acted as Munshi (Secretary) to Mu'tamad Khān who had sided with 'Ālamgīr in the war of succession. When 'Ālamgīr ascended the throne, he was

appointed Governor of Gwalior in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.). Thereupon Munshi Hīraman wrote his book *Gwalior-Nāma* which contains the history of the province covering the period from 322 years after Vikramaditya up to the time of Mu'tamad Khān's rule.

Jaswant Rā'i :

Jaswant Rā'i who was the son of Bhagwant Rā'i and grandson of Sundardās Munshi Lahori, was a learned Persian scholar and poet. He was employed at first by Purdil Khān. Later he shifted to Karnatic in 1118 A.H. (1706 A.D.) and gained access to the court of Nawwāb Sa'ādatullāh Khān. He presented a *Qaṣida* (panegyric) to him. The Nawwāb appreciated it and patronized him. Therefore he took up residence in Karnatic and composed a book entitled *Sa'id-Nāma* which is a history of Nawwāb Sa'ādatullāh Khān and his family.

Munshi Thakur Lāl :

Munshi Thakur Lāl, son of Bhojdās Mathur Kāyesth, was a resident of district Burhanpur. He wrote a book in 1139 A.H. (1726 A.D.) under the title *Dastūru'l-'mal-i-Shahanshāhi.* He has narrated therein the important events of Upper India and the Deccan in the form of a list.

Munshi Sujan Rā'i Khatri :

Munshi Sujan Rā'i Khatri lived in the regime of Emperor 'Ālamgīr. He wrote a voluminous book *Khulaṣat-u-tawārikh* containing the important events from the very beginning of the world up to the reign of the Emperor. This book is based on a thorough research and as such, it is regarded as an authority. He was a resident of Patiala. A MS. of this book is available

in the Hyderabad Library, as well as in the Oriental Section of London Library. He died in 1107 A.H. (1753 A.D.).

Bindrabandās :

Bindrabandās was attached to the royal court of Bahādur S̲h̲āh. In 1105 A.H. (1693 A.D.) he wrote a book under the title of *Lubbu't-Tawārīk̲h̲* wherein he has compiled history from the ancient Aryans up to the time of 'Ālamgīr. One may mistake the author for an Iranian because of his ornate style of Persian intermingled with Arabic phraseology. He has given in the Introduction a list of all the sources from which he has collected his material. He has fully examined and analysed all the events of the book. The Al-Iṣlāh Library at Dasna (Bihar) contains a rare manuscript dated 1238 A.H. (1822 A.D.).

Jagjīwandās :

Jagjīwan Dās, son of Manōhar Dās, and a resident of Gujrat, was the Superintendent of the Postal Department under the Government of Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam S̲h̲āh. Since all the secret and confidential papers passed through him, he developed an interest in the collection of important material. In 1119 A.H. (1707 A.D.), Bahādur S̲h̲āh I admitted him to the royal court in Lahore and appointed him to the post of a chronicler. In 1120 A.H. (1708 A.D.) he brought out the *Muntak̲h̲abu't-Tawārīk̲h̲* as a result of his strenuous studies. In recognition of his efforts he received a title and a robe of honour.

Kāmrāj :

Kāmrāj, son of Nain Singh, belonged to Phaphund in Itawa district. He was granted audience in the court of

Prince Muḥammad 'Ā'ẓam in Malwa. He wrote a book entitled *A'zamu'l-Ḥarb* containing an account of the battles fought by the Prince. He informs us in the Preface that much of the material for the book was supplied by the Government chroniclers and states that his family had been serving the house of Tīmūr very sincerely and loyally for the last three generations.

Kishan Chand Ikhlāṣ :

Kishan Chand Ikhlāṣ was a resident of Shāhjahānabad and a pupil of Mirza 'Abdu'l-Ghani Qabūl of Kashmir. His father, Achal Dās, was a Persian poet. He wrote a memoir of poets under the title of *Hamesha Bahār* (Ever Green) in 1136 A.H. (1723 A.D.). The book contains the biographical sketches of the poets and covers a period from Akbar, the Great, up to Muḥammad Shāh. It is considered to be an authority so much so that 'Allāma Āzād Bilgrāmi mentions it as one of the sources of his *Khazana'i-'Amira* and expresses his indebtedness to the author. Its MSS. are available in the libraries of Bankipur and Hyderabad.

Lalā Rām :

Lāla Rām was the son of Daulat Rām and grandson of Rā'i Kunjman who held some office together with the title of Rā'i in the reign of 'Ālamgīr. Daulāt Rām also held the title of Rā'i and some post in the Government service. Lāla Rām himself was in the service of Muḥammad Shāh for some time. In 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.), he presented to the king the *Tuḥfatu'l-Hind* which is considered to be an authentic history.

Khush Ḥāl Chand :

Khush Ḥāl Chand was a Dīwān in the royal court of 'Ālamgīr. He died in 1164 A.H. (1750 A.D.), and was succeeded in office by his son. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Nādiru'z-Zamān* is the best of all of his works.

Hiralāl Khushdil :

Hīralāl Khushdil appears, in all probability, to have been a resident of the Deccan. He has written in verse the history of the Quṭubshāhi dynasty. It is not known for certain when he lived. However, he must have lived sometime towards the close of the 10th century A.H. (16th century A.D.) or early in 11th century as the same period covers the reign of the Quṭubshāhi dynasty. This book is included in the library maintained by the Asiatic Society.

Maharāja Kalyān Singh :

Kalyān Singh's grandfather Himmat Singh, a Kāyesth of Delhi, was employed as Dīwān under the Government of Amīru'l-Umarā, Ṣamṣāmu'd-Dawlah.

His son Shitāb Rā'i rose to great heights. He was honoured with the title of Mumtāzu'd-Dawlah Manṣūr Jang and held the charge of Bihar Province as its Governor. He was himself a learned man and patronizad the learned of his time. After his death, his son succeeded to the governorship of Bihar with the name and title of Intiẓāmu'l-Mulk Mumtāzu'd-Dawlah Maharāja Kalyān Singh Bahadur Tahawwur Jang. He was also a patron of learning like his father. He wrote

Khulāṣatu't-Tawārikh in which he narrated the events beginning from Timūr up to his own time. His next work is the *Wāridāt-i-Qāsimi* which gives the history of the *Niẓāmat* of Bengal.

Seo Dās Lucknawi :

Sheo Dās wrote the *Shāh Nāma* named *Munawwar Kalām* which contains the important events relating to the period from Farrukh Siyar 1124 A.H. (1782 A.D.) to Muḥammad Shāh (1131 A.H./1718 A.D.). He held the office of Munshi (Secretary) for a considerable period in the Royal Court.

Rūp Narā'in :

Rūp Narā'in, son of Harī Rām Khatri, resident of Sialkot, compiled an account of the holy places of the Hindus. The real title of his book is *Brij Mahātam,* but its chronogrammatic name is *Makhzanu'l-'Irfān.*

Rā'i Chitraman :

Rā'i Chitraman wrote a book on Indian history at the instance of *Waziru'l-Mamālik* Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān and named it the *Chahār Gulshān*. This book consists of four *Gulshans* (Chapters). The first *Gulshan* contains the history of the kings of India and the second, an account of the provinces. The third one, which is the most important chapter of the book, gives the survey of the thoroughfares going from Delhi directions to big towns, in all and an account of the various halting places situated on them. The fourth *Gulshan* deals with the Hindu

hermits and saints. This book was completed in 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.).

Durgadās :

Durgadās, son of Shiv Shankardās, was the author of a Persian biography *Safina-i-'Ishrat.* The book was compiled in 1175 A.H. (1761 A.D.). Perhaps he was a pupil of Ḥazīn.

Anand Rūp :

Anand Rūp was a Brahmin of Narnawal in Madras. He was employed for sometime by Khālūji Bhonsla. He went from Nagpur to Allahabad in connection with the affairs of Naṣīru'l-Mulk Naṣīr-i-Jang. In 1182 A.H. (1768 A.D.) he wrote the *Mīzān-i-Dānish* containing four parts according to four *jugs.*

Mannālāl :

Mannālāl, son of Bahādur Singh, wrote a history of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam. This book begins with the year 1184 A.H. (1770 A.D.) when Shāh 'Ālam went from Allahabad to Delhi.

Rā'i Kewalrām :

Rā'i Kewalrām, son of Raghunāth Dās Agarwāl, came from Kasna in the outskirts of Delhi. He wrote a book *Tadhkiratu'l-Umarā.* He has stated in its preface that the book is based on the Royal diaries and other official chronicles.

Dalpat Rā'i :

Dalpat Rā'i, known as Rā'i Dalpat Singh, was born at Ahmadabad (Gujrat). His father Gulab Rā'i held office of Mutṣaddī (Accounts Officer). He was well versed in Arabic,

Persian, Sanskrit, Prakirt and Bhaka languages. He went to Jaipur at the age of 57 and started writing the *Malāḥat Maqāl* as desired by Maharāja Madho Singh. This book was completed in 1181 A.H. (1767 A.D.) after the death of the Maharāja.

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CHAPTER V

The foregoing chapter recounts 26 Hindu men of letters who rose to eminence as history writers. But the list is not yet exhausted and so it is still to continue in this chapter although all the sources of information could not be tapped.

Bindraban Khushgu :

Bindraban Khushgu who came of the Vaish community was a resident of Muthra. He availed the oppotunities for pursuing his studies under some of his cotemporary scholars, such as Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Ālī Khān Ārzū, Mirzā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Bēdil, Muḥammad Afḍal Surkh Pūsh and Shaikh Sa'īd-Ullāh Gulshan. He was well versed both in Prose and Poetry. He wrote the *'Safina-i-Khushgu* and the *Tadhkiratu'l-Mu'āṣirin*, which were presented to Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Mulk Amīr Khān. The Nawwāb in appreciation of these two books awarded him a scholarship at the rate of two rupees per day. After the death of his patron, Bindraban retired to 'Aẓīmābad (Patna) and died there in 1170 A.H. (1756 A.D.). The manuscript of the *Tadhkirah*, which is available in the Bankipur Library was originally in possession of *'Allāma* Āzād Bilgrami and was prepared at his instance in 1183 A.H. (1769 A.D.). The author of the *Gul-i-R'anā* utilised it in producing his book.

Pandit Krishnanand :

Pandit Krishnanand, son of Pandit Anand Kuhan,

wrote a book, entitled *Tarīkh-i-Shāhān-Hind*. Nothing can specifically be said as to the time when he lived. What has been ascertained is that he was alive in 1803 A.D. (1218 A.H.).

Budh Singh :

Budh Singh compiled a history of Sikhs from 1192 A.H. (1778 A.D.) upto his own time. He was assisted by Lāla 'Ajāib Singh in its compilation. The title of the book is *Risāla-i-Nānakshāh*. Its date of compilation is not known.

Reghūnāth :

Reghūnāth was probably a Marhatta. He wrote a book in 1188 A.H. (1774 A.D.) on the history of the Marhattas.

Sheo Prasād :

Sheo Prasād was employed under the government of Faiḍullāh Khān Rōhilla. He wrote the history of Rohila Pathans under the title *Tarikh-i-Faiḍ Bakhsh* in 1190 A.H. (1776 A.D.).

Mukand Rā'i :

Rāja Holkar's political letters were translated by Mukand Rā'i from Marathi into Persian in 1190 A.H. (1776 A.D.). A manuscript of the same bearing the title *Khaṭūṭ-i-Holkar* can be seen in the Āṣafiyyah Library.

Mohan Lāl Anis :

Mohan Lāl Anīs, son of Tōlarām Qānūngu, Kāyesth by caste, resident of Lucknow, was a pupil of Mirzā Fākhir Makīn in verse. In 1193 A.H. (1729 A.D.) he wrote the *Anīsu'l-Akhbār* which contains the biographical accounts of Mirzā Makīn and his pupils including 6 Hindus.

Harnām Singh :

Harnām Singh, son of Kaur Dās Singh, was a resident of Mawlānah in the suburbs of Lucknow. He belonged to the Sarswati Brahmin community. He lived under 'Ainu'd-Dīn Khān, Collector of Bareilly (1195—1199 A.H./1780—1784 A.D.) from his childhood. He has left behind *T'ārīkh Sa'ādat Jāwid.*

Ranchūrji :

Ranchūrjī, son of Amarjī Dīwān, wrote the *Tārīkh-i-Surat* in 1240 A.H. (1824 A.D.) dealing with Junagadh and Nagar community.

Lachmi Narā'in Shafiq :

The grandfather of Lachmi Narā'in of Lahore accompanied Aurangzib to the Deccan expedition and took up residence in Aurangabad. His father, Rā'i Mansarām, was attached as *Diwān* to Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh.

Lachmi Narā'in is one of those learned Hindus of whom one may feel proud. He was one of the pupils of *'Allāma* Āzād Bilgrami, and was in the service of 'Alī Jāh Bahādur. The great *'Allāma* infused in him an abiding interest in history

which naturally led him to write several books on this subject. Some of them are the memoirs of poets under the titles of the *Gul-i-R'anā* and the *Shām-i-Gharibān*. A third work of his is the *Haqiqatha-i-Hindūstān* written in 1204 A.H. (1789 A.D.) which was followed by the *Khulaṣatu'l Hind* and *Tawarikh-i-Aṣafi*. The best of all his works is the *Bisāṭu'l Ghanā'im* which contains the history of the Marhattas.

Harsukh Rā'i :

Harsukh Rā'i, son of Jīwan Dās and grandson of Basant Rā'i, Khattari by caste, resident of Lahore, started writing the *Mājma'u'l-Akhbār* in 1214 A.H. (1799 A.D.) as advised by his maternal uncle Siri Narā'in. The book was completed in 1220 A.H. (1805 A.D.). He had already produced a few years earlier in 1211 A.H. (1796 A.D.) a very useful and informative book, entitled *Zubdatu'l-Qawānin*, which will be mentioned later.

Munshi Manna Lāl :

Munshi Manna Lāl, son of Munshi Bahādur Singh, was appointed by Shāh 'Ālam to record the Royal Diary. A MS. of his can be seen in the Bankipur Library. A perusal of this diary will show his power of observation and writing. The Royal Diary was concluded with the death entry of Shāh 'Ālam (1221 A.H./1806 A.D.) which appears on the last page of this work.

Rā'i Amar Singh Khushdil :

Rā'i Amar Singh, son of Jīwan Rām Kāyesth, came from Katra Manakpur. His father held the highest office of the

Nāẓim (Collector) of Ghazipur during the reign of Nawwāb Shujāu'd-Dawla. Amar Singh was a talented scholar. On completion of his education he was appointed to a responsible post under Mahārāja Jīt Singh of Benares. Eventually he was appointed Collector of Aligarh under the East India Company. He wrote a history of the Hindu rulers of India which covers a period from the very beginning of Hindu power up to the time of Sulṭān 'Alā'u'd-Din Khalji. Next he wrote the *Bazm-i-Khayāl* containing his personal observations of the contemporary events. Its special feature is that it also includes an account of the role played by the English up to the year 1210 A.H. (1795 A.D.). He died in 1225 A.H. (1810 A.D.)

Daulat Rā'i :

Munshi Daulat Rā'i Kāyesth was a distinguished companion of Bahāwal Khān (d. 1224 A.H./1809 A.D.), the founder of Bahawalpur State. As the rulers of Bahawalpur descended from the line of the 'Abbāsides, he aptly named his book as the *Mir'āt-i-Daulat-i-'Abbāsiyyah*. This was published in the year 1890 A.D.

Rā'i Bhagwandās :

Ra'i Bhagwandās Kāyesth who adopted 'Hindi' for his pen-name, was the son of Dalpat Dās of Kālpi. He received his education at Lucknow from Mawlawi Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf of Saharanpur and then was appointed to a high post under the government of 'Āṣafu'd-Dawla. Thereafter he was attached to M'utamadu'd-Dawlah Mahārāja Tikait Rā'i, a *Nā'ib Diwān* of the king of Oudh. He left two memoirs, namely *Ḥadiqa-i-Hindi* and *Safina-i-Hindi*. The former deals

with the old poets and the latter contains accounts of the contemporary poets. It was written in the year 1219 A.H. (1801 A.D.).

Mohan Singh :

Mohan Singh, who was in the service of Holkar, was well versed in Arabic and Persian learning. As desired by his master, he wrote the *Waqā'i'-i-Holkar* containing the biographical account of Malhar Rā'o Holkar of Indore in 1223 A.H.

Munshi Chhatarmal :

The most curious book of Munshi Chhatarmal, son of Rā'i Paran Chand, is *Diwān-i-Pasand* which deals with the revenue administration, but his historical composition is '*Imāratu'l-Akbar*. As the name suggests, it contains the accounts of buildings constructed in Akbarabad. He wrote his first book in 1225 A.H. (1810 A.D.), which may determine his period.

Bisāwan Lāl Shādān :

He was a resident of Bilgram and was Nā'ib Mīr Munshi (Deputy Chief Secretary) to Amīru'd-Dawlah Muḥammad Amīr Khān and wrote at his instance a book entitled *Amir Nāmah*, which, in fact, is a biography of Amīr Khān.

Sundar Lāl Kaul :

Sundar Lāl, son of Naubat Rā'i, lived in Mathura. He held the post of Mīr Munshi. In 1241 A.H. (1825 A.D.) he produced the *Gul-i-Bikhizān*, consisting of four chapters. The

first three give accounts of Delhi, Mathura and Bindraban and the fourth contains a story.

Munshi Sada Sukh Lāl :

His pen-name was Niyāz and he was employed as a *Sarishtadār* (Reader) at Agra in the time of Najaf Khān. At the age of 65, he migrated in 1234 A.H. (1818 A.D.) from Delhi to Allahabad. He was a contemporary of Mirzā Qatīl, Mīr Taqi, Khwaja Mīr Dard, etc. He wrote a book entitled *Muntakhabu't-Tawārikh*, which has been referred to by Sir Henry East in his book.

Bahadur Singh :

He was the son of Hazāri Mal and grandson of Lachhmi Chand, and had settled at Allahabad, although his original home-town was Shahjehanabad. He wrote the *Yādgar-i-Bahaduri*, a world history, which was completed in 1249 A.H. (1833 A.D.). He collected material from many Arabic, Persian and Hindi books.

Ratan Singh :

Munshiu'l-Mulk Fakhru'd-Dawla Dabiru'l-Mulk Raja Ratan Singh Zakhmi was born at Lucknow of a Kāyesth family. His relatives for the last three generations had held posts of honour in the Oudh Darbar. Ratan Singh was a greatly eminent scholar of his time. His real attainments will be discussed under the heading of Hindi Philosophers. His grandfather, Raja Bhagwandās, who had been a tutor to Āṣafu'd-Dawla during his princehood, was promoted to the high office of Dīwān, when the prince ascended the throne. Besides other publica-

tions he wrote the *Sulṭānu'l-Tawarikh* on the history of the kings of Oudh. He finished his book at the age of 60 in 1258 A.H. (1859 A.D.).

Rām Sita Singh :

He wrote a biography of Munshi Sītal Singh Bīkhud under the title of *Ḥaqiqatha-i-Bikhud*. It was published. 'Fikrāt' was his poetical name.

Pandit Bishan Narā'in :

He wrote a history entitled *Naẓẓāratu'l-Sanad*. The period when he flourished is not known. A manuscript of it, owned by the Asiatic Society, bears 1859 A.D. as the year of its compilation.

Lāla Sital Chand :

He lived at Agra and worked there at a school before the war of Independence of 1857. He wrote *T'arīfu'l-'Imārat*, in which he has described every building and castle at Akbar-abad (Agra) after a thorough and assiduous research, giving the pictures of all of them with their lay-out plans. This book is brimming with very useful information.

Munshi Mahtāb Singh :

A Kāyesth by caste and a resident of Cawnpore, he compiled the *T'arikh-i-Hazāra* of which a manuscript can be seen in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Girdhāri Lāl :

He compiled a book in history named *T'arikh-i-Zafar-i-Deccan*. The Āṣafiyyah Library contains its manuscript. The

year of compilation is not known. He was known as a *Falsafi* (Philosopher).

Rajā Kundan Lāl :

He was an eminent scholar of his time, and was known as Philosopher. He belonged to Delhi. In 1237 A.H. (1821 A.D.) he wrote the *Qistas*. He was also the author of the *Tanqiḥu'l-Akhbār*, a historical book containing mostly his autography.

The Hindu historians, mentioned in both the chapters, number as many as 54 and it will be seen that all of them lived during the short period of 250 years only. This number could be enhanced considerably if we only possessed means to collect necessary information from hundreds of the private libraries owned by private individuals. A good number of the books was destroyed, as they were in possession of illiterate and indifferent families. Still we feel gratified when we realise that a fairly long span of 125 years of the British rule with many schools and colleges could not produce so many Hindu writers in the English medium. Moreover, the fact should not be lost sight of that the few books written on the subject by the Brahmins of Bengal or the Deccan during the British period were prepared with the assistance of one university or the other, so that they might be included in the prescribed curriculum to fetch them commercial gains. But the case of the history writers under the Muslim rule was otherwise. They were motivated in their efforts by their love for knowledge or inspired by the encouraging appreciation of the kings and nobles of the country.

The other noteworthy point is that the books already written or being written in this modern age are either the product of the study of old history books or are their modified and adapted editions unlike those produced by the Hindu historians. The former are compiled not on the basis of personal observation or research, but they are indebted to such books as could be available for consultation in different libraries. These modern works have been prepared not after going round the world to study different peoples, their social, educational or political institutions and their customs, manners and mode of life, but, on the contrary, they have been brought out while sitting in the closets of magnificently housed libraries. Furthermore, they are based neither on personal observations nor on the principles of deduction and causation. On the contrary, the works of the Hindu historians are based on their observations of nature and their study of actual facts and realities.

A cursory view of the old authors would reveal that most of them held various positions of responsibility under the Government or were attached to the court of some noble or a prince. A large majority of them functioned as secretaries, chroniclers and Dīwāns. Consequently no secret matter or documents connected with the administration could escape their notice. They had, in detail, mastered the knowledge of the political, administrative and financial matters. That is how they got the best opportunities for writing and compiling authentic books on the subject of history.

★★★★

CHAPTER VI

(HINDU POETS OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE)

As a rule, subject nations cannot afford to be indifferent to the language of their rulers. Persian was the state language during the Muslim rule in India, but now (before Independence) its place had been occupied by English for the same reasons. Evidently there was no compulsion in the matter of learning the Persian language. Just as we today study English for economic reasons, and similarly in the past, Persian was studied on the same ground. Anyhow, for some reason or the other, the Hindus started taking interest in the study of Persian from the time of Sikandar Lūdi. In due course of time they acquired proficiency in it to such a degree that according to an English historian there remained no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims as far as the knowledge of Persian was concerned.

English education is fast spreading even these days. But so far as a comparison of the present with the past goes, it is manifestly clear that despite all the organised activities, strenuous efforts and liberal and extravagant financial support, the modern system of English education has failed to produce the same results as the Muslim educational system did in the past. The percentage of English-knowing people may now be higher proportionately than the number of the

Persian-knowing Hindus in the past, yet the old education was more effective in regard to its quality. This position, as I believe, was due to the following reasons :—

(1) Education was free and less expensive.

(2) Teachers commanded more respects because of their parental attitude towards the welfare of their pupils. They did not behave like the mercenary professional teachers of these days.

(3) Mastery of a foreign language is achieved not through study alone, but through the society and company of those whose mother-tongue it is.

Hindu-Muslim social intercourse and their mutual relations under the Muslim rule knew no communal discrimination. They met each other freely night and day, held social gatherings and got welded in a common society with the result that the Hindus would become easily conversant with Persian. This effect has continued and extended to the modern schools and colleges where Hindu students still choose Persian as an easier optional language in preference to Sanskrit. But unfortunately a sort of compartmentalisation in education is taking root slowly but steadily due to the communal prejudices and mutual distrust.

Anyhow, it cannot be denied that the influence exercised by Persian education on Hindus far exceeded that of English education in spite of the latter's almost universal popularity. In a period of 150 years of British domination only a very few could find a place in history as poets of

English. Hardly more than five or six names are mentioned in this connection. On the other hand, during the short period of 250 years of the regime of Tīmūr's dynasty a large number of Hindu poets of such eminence flourished that we are proud of them. The verses composed by them pleased those whose mother tongue was Persian and won their admiration. These days we acclaim, beyond all proportions, two or three Indian poets for their English versification, because they have been commended or awarded by the English. But for a moment let us estimate the achievements of our ancestors in this particular field. I have selected the following Hindu poets of Persian from a few Persian books. This small list is drawn up not in chronological but in alphabetical order. All of them, without exception, drew far greater applause for the excellence and exquisiteness of the language from their contemporaries and as well as from the royal courts.*

Arām :

Munshi Ishwar Dās Kāyesth by caste, was connected with *Amīru'l-Umarā* Nawwāb Ghaḍanfar Jang of Farrukhābad. His Persian Prose and Poetry are characterised by both eloquence and elegance. He used Figures of Speech both pertaining to the words and flowing from the sense. Some of his

* Note from the translators :—

Here the author has given the original quotations both prose and poetry from the relevant Persian memoirs for each and every poet so that the accuracy may not be doubted in any way but in this translation, the prose passages are given in their English renderings only and the verses have been reproduced, in original and also translated.

Persian chronicles and biographical notes that I have seen show that really his style was nice and beautiful. He composed the following couplets in the praise of Nawwāb 'Imādu'l-Mulk and Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Āṣafjāh on the annihilation of Suraj Mal Jat :-

بفر کوکبهٔ بخشیٔ ممالک هند
سزد که باج زخوارزم و ز ختن گیرند
شهان ز صولت آں جم وقار آصف جاه
رکاب توسن شاهنشه ز من گیرند
جوان و صاحب بخت جوان نظام الملک
که باد همت ازو مردم دکن گیرند
برید گردن بلوائے فتنه ساز نخست
چنانچه صبح سر شمع در لگن گیرند

(1) It is in the fitness of things to exact tribute from Khwārazm and Khutan with the help of the dignity of the star of the paymaster of the Indian territories.

(2) The kings of the world, because of the ferocity of that Āṣaf Jāh of Jamshīds dignity, hold the stirrup of the emperor.

(3) The people of the Deccan are inspired with courage by Niẓamu'l-Mulk who is in the prime of his life and fortune.

(4) He first nipped in the bud the rising of insurgents as one cuts the wick of a candle early in the morning.

Afrin :

Kāyesth by caste, he was a resident of Allahabad. He produced a magical effect with his exuberance of thought and brilliance of style.

مبارکباد مرغان چمن را * نوا سنجان رنگین انجمن را
که عید نوبهار آمد طرب خوش * نوی گل کرد دوران کهن را

(1,2) Congratulations to all the warbling birds of the garden and to the singers of the beautiful assembly. (His contemporaries) on the happy augury of the spring which has awakened the old worn-out order to a new life.

Ikhlāṣ Kāli Prasād :

Kāyesth by caste and resident of Lucknow suburbs, practised writing of prose and poetry under Mawlwi Iḥsānullāh, Mumtāz Imami. After his death his prose and poetical works got scattered. He wrote a *Qaṣida* (a panegyric) in praise of Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh of Oudh bringing out by way of *Tawshih* (a poetic device) eight times in the course of the poem the king's name, Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh *Badshāh-i-Zamān Khalldattāhu Mulkahū.* For this he was awarded a prize of one thousand rupees.

Ulfat :

Raja Ulfat Rā'i was a collector of Taxes in the territories of Oudh. He possessed a skilled hand in composing various forms of poetry such as *Qaṣida* (panegyric), *Ghazal* (Ode), *Rubā'i* (Quatrain) and *Mathnawi* (a long poem with rhymed couplets). He had poetic talents of high order.

هر چه ناممکن بود آید زتو بر روے کار
نیست اهل آسمان را بر درت بے اذن یار

می کند گردون طواف روضه ات لیل و نهار
از غبار در گه عرش احترامت آشکار

(1) You can achieve impossibilities even the celestial beings cannot enter your gate without permission.

(2) The sky goes round your garden night and day as is clear from the dust, rising from your abode having '*Arsh* like dignity.

Ulfat :

Lāla Ujātgar by name and Kāyesth by caste, he lived at Aẓīmabād. In order to get his compositions corrected he used to go to Muḥammad 'Alī Mīr Samarqandī.

در آمد شام غم در سینه حسرت نام مهمانی
ز داغ دل کشیدم بے تکلف پیش او خوانی

In a sorrowful evening there came a guest named longing to my heart. I entertained him spontaneously with a trayful of the scar of my heart.

Ulfati :

Rāja Piyāre Lāl Kāyesth was one of the poets of Aẓīmabād. His *Mathnawi Nirang-i-Taqdir*, and his Dīwān (collection of poems are much appreciated by the men of letters. He was secretary to Akbar II.

۱- چون غنچه جز سکوت نباشد بیان ما
پیچیده شد زبان سخن در دهان ما

۲- اندیشهٔ مآل نیامد ز ما درست
در دست دیگریست چو سود و زیان ما

۳- در دشت پر بلاۓ جنون نیست‌الفتی
جز موج ریگ و اشک روان کاروان ما

(1) I cannot be vocal just as a bud is silent. My tongue got entangled in my mouth.

(2) It does not become me to apprehend the consequences when prosperity and adversity both rest in the hands of another being.

(3) I have no carvan, O Ulfati, in the miserable desert of madness except the waves of sand and the flowing tears.

Amānat :

Lāla Amānat Rām was one of the pupils of Mirzā Bīdil and his poetry shows a leaning towards his master's style.

نمی گردد بلند از خاک هم باد مزار ما
که بنشیند مبادا بر دل خوبان غبار ما

(1) There rises no dust from my tomb lest it should fall on the heart of the beloved.

(2) Thank God, I have found the foot-print of the beloved; I longed for prostration and now I have got a suitable ground for that.

Indārmān :

He was the son of Kanwal Ram. He was born at Aurangabad, and was employed at Aligarh. After studying Persian from Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Sikandarabadi he earned a name as a poet. Although he became blind while young; yet his memory grew to be so prodigious that he had all his compositions in prose and poetry at the tip of his tongue.

صد جلوه در کرشمهٔ آن ماه پاره است
این ماه نو ز ابروۓ او یک اشاره است

There are hundreds of manifestations in the blandishment of the moon like beloved. This new moon is but one symbol of his eye-brow!

Uns :

Lālchand Kāyesth of Lucknow left a small *diwān*, dated 1268 A.H. (1851 A.D.)

(۱) روح جمشید برد رشک به مے نوشئی ما
که لب یار بود مایهٔ بیهوشئ ما
(۲) جائے رحم است خدارا نتوان کرد دریغ
هست وابستهٔ تیغ تو سبکدوشئ ما

(1) The soul of Jamshed envies me in the matter of drinking wine, for the lip of my beloved is the source of my intoxication.

(2) I deserve mercy. For God's sake, do not waver. My freedom from this burdensome life rests with your sword.

Anis.

Mohanlal was a pupil of Mirzā Fākhir Makīn and a son of Rā'i Tula Ram. He has left a *diwān,*

Badr :

Rā'i Ganga Prasad Bahadur belonged to a group of Lucknow Kāyesth is of great ability and talents. He worked as a Reader in the regime of Wājid 'Alī Shāh and became prominent as a writer.

۱- می کنم سجدهٔ بتے که کند هر نفس دعوۓ خدا ئیها
۲- از خم طره اش معاذالله من و اندیشهٔ رها ئیها

(1) I bow before my beloved who claims like a godess at every breath.

(2) Be it far from me to think of being released from the meshes of his tresses.

Brahman ;

Chandrabhan of Agra worked as Secretary to Dārā Shukuh. After his assassination, he tendered his resignation and went to Benares where he died in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.)

کنم ز ساده دلی بند دیده مژگان داشت
بمشت خس نتوان بست راه طوفان را

Perhaps out of simplicity the beloved had screened his eyes with his eye-lashes. But the fact remains that the passage of storm cannot be stopped with a handful of straw.

Bahār :

His name was Tekchand. His writings were liked very much. He studied Persian very thoroughly and wrote the *Bāhār-i-'Ajām*, a dictionary and the *Jāwāhiru'l Hāruf*. He was one of the most accomplished pupils of Sirāju'd-Dīn Khān Ārzū.

جانب او دل ببال اضطرابم می پرد
ذره ام بے طاقتی تا آفتابم می پرد

My heart flies up to him with the wing of utter restlessness. I am like a mote flying to the sun inspite of its powerlessness.

Bāhjāt :

Makhkhan Lal Bahjat has left a collection of his poetry known as '*Diwān-i-Bāhjāt*'.

Tāftāh :

Munshi Hargopal Tafta, a Brahmin by caste, was a voluminous poet. He has left 5 *diwāns* containing in all 52000 couplets.

چند گوی' که نشان نیست ز خونین کفنان
مگر این لاله که بینی ز شهیدان تو نیست

How long will you be saying that there exists no trace of those wrapped in blood smeared shrouds ? Is not the tulip that you see among your victims ?

Tāmānnā :

Makhkhan Lāl, a Kāyesth of Shikuhabad, produced 15000 couplets of poetry.

Thāqib :

Mahāraja Sheo Pradhanji Gopal Singh Bahādur was a Kāyesth. His father Munshi Beni Prasad, was attached to the court of Oudh as a Reader. Sheo Pradhan held the charge of the Secretariat under Prince Farīdūn Qadar Mirza Hizabr 'Alī of Oudh. Of his prose works are a history of Oudh entitled '*Daftar-i-Thaqib*' and a history of Delhi entitled Chronogramatically '*Haqīqat-i-Timuryyah*'. And among his poetical works are the '*Majmūa'i-Nadiratu-th-thaqib*' and a *Mathnawi* entitled *mukhbir-i-himmat.*

Haya :

Sheoram, a Kāyesth of Akbarabad, son of Baghwati Mal, was an Accounts Officer of Nawwāb Asad Khān, the Minister of 'Alamgīr. He learnt the art of versification from Mirza Bīdil. He died in 1144 A.H. (1731 A.D.). He composed, on the lines of the *chahār 'Unsur* of his master, '*Gulgasht-i-Bahār-i-Iram.*

بیاد چشم تو داریم مے پرستیها
رسانده ایم بگردون دماغ مستیها

I have followed the creed of drunkards in the memory of your eyes. I have elevated intoxicated mind to the height of heavens.

Khushdil :

Rā'i Amar Singh, son of Jīwan Ram Kāyesth, hailed from Katra Manikpur. Jiwan Ram was appointed as an Administrator of Ghazipur under Wazīru'l-Mulk Nawwāb Abu'l-Manṣūr Khān Ṣafdarjang during the regime of Nawwāb Shujā'ud-Dawlah. Rā'i Amar Singh, on completion of his education, was first employed by Mahāraja Ajit Singh of Benares and then he joined the Aligarh Secretariat under the East India Company. He died in 1225 A.H. (1810 A.D.). He has left, to perpetuate his memory, the '*Bahār-i-Dānish*', a poetical work, as well as a history of Hindu Rulers beginning from the time of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ghūri. His verses number about 5000.

گرم است بسکه نالهٔ آتش فشان ما
سوزد برنگ شمع زبان در دهان ما

My fire-spreading lamentation is so hot that my tongue burns in my mouth like a candle.

Khay'āli :

Munshi Khay'āli Rām of Lucknow was a master of Persian prose and poetry. He died in 1289 A.H. (1872 A.D.). His works are more than one hundred. His masterpieces are the '*Sharḥ-i-I'jāz-i-Khusrawi*' and a *Qasida* written in the praise of Wājid 'Alī Shāh and in the description of the Nūr Manzil in such a way that the first letters of the first hemistiches represent the year of the Hijra era, and the first letters of the last words of the same first hemistiches the year of the *Fasli* era while similarly the first letters of the first and last words occurring in the second hemistiches of the same couplets indicate the year of the Christian and the Hindi eras respectively.

Khāmūsh :

He died in 1229 A.H. (1813 A.D.). A manuscript of his *Diwān* is in possession of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta.

Rāqim :

Bakhtāwar Singh of Lucknow was one of the distinguished Hindu poets in regard to the sweetness of expression. His son Jawāhir Singh Jawhar surpassed his father in that respect.

Raḥmati :

Kanwar Sukhrāj Singh Bahādur was the son of Hīrālal Ḍamīr and grand-son of Raja Piyarelal Ulfatī.

گر بهجرش دل سودا زده غمناک شود
جامهٔ صبر ز بیتابیٔ من چاک شود

If my love-stricken heart is afflicted with separation from my beloved, the garment of my patience is torn to pieces because of my restlessness.

Rif'at :

Maikūlal of Lucknow had a leaning for poetic composition. He acquired the practice of versification from Mawlawi Nadhīr Ahmad.

Rafīq :

Dātārām possessed poetic talents and his style was lucid.

نگار من برخ خویش چون نقاب گرفت
فتاد شور که امروز آفتاب گرفت

When my beloved veiled his face, there was raised an uproar that the sun had been eclipsed.

Rawnaq :

Munshi Rām Sahāi of Lucknow wrote elegant prose and poetry. He died in 1290 A.H. (1873 A.D.). He has left behind a *diwān* and some *Māthnawis*. He worte an ode in 4 meters.

Zār :

Munshi Mendūlal of Lucknow. He had many pupils. He has left behind a *diwān* and some pamphlets on prosody. He wrote the *Bahru'l-'Ulūm* in seven *Sāḥ fās* on the lines of the *Panj Ruq'ā* (5 letters) and the *Nādir Bāzār* on the model of the *M nā Bāzār* and *Jāw d Bāhār*.

Sabqat :

Sukhrāj, whose father was employed by 'Umdatu'l-Mulk Bahādur, minister of 'Ālamgīr, was a learned man of his age. As far as his attainments in the field of literature, philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and Taṣawwuf are concerned, he surpassed his contemporaries. He possessed talents for composing different forms of poetry, riddles and chronogram. He was a pupil of Bīdil and was employed as steward and secretary to Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. He wrote the *Jangnāma-i-Ḥusain* 'Alī Khan containing about 700 lines.

Sarwari :

Rā'i Bansidhar was the grandson of Bakhshiu'l-Mamālik Raja Lalji Bahādur. He learnt the art of writing Persian prose and poetry under Mawlawi Iḥsānullāh.

نامم بمعنی وسخن امروز سروری ست
مداح آل سرور و شیدائے سرورم

I have earned a name by virtue of my poetical compositions, as I am an admirer of the Prophet's family and a devotee to the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him).

Shādān :

Mahāraja Chandūlal was a minister under Āṣafiyyah Government at Hyderabad. His assembly consisted of the experts and poets and he held nightly meetings of poets and scholars and his standard of poetry was fairly high. His Persian *Dīwān* has already been printed. He was great grandfather of Mahāraja Kishan Prasad. He died in 1254 A.H. (1838 A.D.).

Shafīq :

Munshi Lachhmi Narā'in Khattari of Aurangabad was a pupil of Mirza Āzād. He was the author of two biographical works named *'Gul-i-Ra'na'* and *Shām-i-Gharibān*. He possessed clarity of thought and lucidity of expression. He belonged to Lahore. His father Bhawānidās accompanied 'Ālamgīr to the Deccan and settled in Aurangabad. He joined service under 'Ālījāh, son of Nawwāb Niẓām 'Alī Khān, and died in 1200 A.H. (1785 A.D.).

Shawq :

Munshī Dawlat Rā'i was the grandson of Raja Bholānāth. He was employed in the Secretariat of the king of Oudh. He wrote a panegyric, full of rhetorical devices and figures of speech. He migrated to Calcutta along with his family in the company of Wājid 'Alī Shāh. He died in 1270 A.H. (1853 A.D.).

Shahr :

Lāla Bālmukund of Manikpur died in 1250 A.H. (1834 A.D.). He was possessed of poetic talents and analytic mind.

مکن اشک مرا بیقدر اے مژگانِ تر رحمے

برین طفل غذا پرورده خونِ جگر رحمے

O wet eyelashes do not humiliate my tear. Show mercy to this baby which has been nourished with the blood of my liver.

Sāḥibrām:

He was a Persian poet, skilled in the art of composing chronograms. He rose to eminence during the regime of His Majesty Ghāziu'd-Dīn Ḥaidar. He composed the following verses indicating his date of death *i.e.* 1243 A.H. (1827 A.D.) on his burial at Lucknow in the Najaf Mausoleum.

چوں رفت شه زمن ز دنیا

ماتم دل خاص و عام بگرفت

از روے بکاؤ آه گفتم

حیدر به نجف مقام بگرفت

When His Majesty passed away from this world, the heart of each noble and commoner was grieved. Out of weeping and sighing I said Haidar has chosen Najaf for his resting place.

Diya'i:

Rāja Gobind Bakhsh Ḍiyā'ī (d. 1245 A.H./1830 A.D.) left behind an excellent Persian *Dīwān* which is contained in the Āṣafiyyah Library.

'Ishrat :

Jai Kishun, a Brahmin of Kashmir, was gifted with poetic talents. He held for long the post of Qānūngū of the whole of Kashmir under Nawwāb Najmu'd-Dawlah Amīr Khān, manager of the Khālisah.

دشت از لاله بسکه رنگین است
پاے دیوانه دست گلچین است

As the whole forest has turned crimson on account of tulips, the foot of the love-lorn has become the hand of a flower-plucker.

Gulshan :

Rāja Jiyālāl Bahādur was a good poet. He left behind a *Dīwān*. He was the Chief of the Secretariat of Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh of Oudh.

Gulshan :

Rā'i Gulābrā'i of Sandila was a pupil of Qātil. He held high offices under the Government of Oudh. He was a man of profound knowledge and had no match in the art of fighting. He has left a voluminous memoir of poets and a *dīwān*.

آنکس که از زبان تو حرف جفا شنید
گویا پیام خضر ز آب بقا شنید

He who hears a cruel word from your mouth, receives, as it were, a message of Khiḍr about the water of life.

Mumtāz :

Lāla Sītaldās was distinguished for subtlety of thought. He possessed the tone and accent of Persians.

Munshi :

Munshi Mādhū Rām of Shāhjahanabad had made his mark as Secretary to Nawwāb Luṭfu'Llāh Khān, son of Sa'dullāh Khān. Gradually he became the Chief Secretary to Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Jahāndār, son of Bahādur Shāh.

نمی رسد بمیان صنم ز باریکی * هزار بار بدقت شگافتم مو را

Although I split the hair to a thousandth part with great difficulty ; yet it could not be equal to the thinness of my beloved's waist.

Munshi :

Lāla Fatḥ Chand of Burhanpur was Kāyesth by caste. He was possessed of poetic talents and he wrote good poetry.

۱- نیست آسایش بمنزل جان از خود رسته را
هر قدم دام است نقش پا شکار جسته را

۲- بسکه از شرم تو در پرواز رنگ گلشن است
رشتهٔ نظاره بندد در هوا گلدسته را

(1) There is no comfort in the abode of soul for one who has gone beyond one's ownself. Every footprint of a prey running fast is itself a trap to the same.

(2) As the colour of the garden flies out of shame in your presence, the thread of sight makes a bouquet out of that in the atmosphere.

Manōhar :

Rā'i Manōhar Lāl was one of the nobles of Akbar the Great. He was a man of sober mind and sound judgement.

روزیکه سموم حشر افزوں گردد
در آتش غم چو چهره گلگوں گردد
ما در دوزخ چنان بذوقے سوزم
کز رشک دل بهشتیاں خوں گردد

On the day of resurrection, when the *Samūm* blows more and more and when faces become red in the fire of torture, we would enjoy our burning in the hell so much so that even the hearts of those in paradise would bleed out of envy.

Mūjid :

Sukhkhan Lāl of Badayun.

چه شکیبم چه کنم چوں نزنم سر بر سنگ
مدتے شد که ز جانان خبرے پیدا نیست

How can I have patience? What can I do? Why should not I dash my head on a stone, for a very long time I have not heard about my beloved ?

Mūjid :

Lāla Kālkā Prasād of Lucknow was distinguished for his poetic talents and flight of imagination . He was a good calligraphist and an expert of Persian idioms and technique.

رسائی نیست تا سر منزل او کفرو ایمان را
که دیرو کعبه سنگ ره بود گبرو مسلمان را

Neither the infidel nor the faithful can reach Him ; since the temple and the Ka'ba both are the stumbling stones alike to a Pagan and a Muslim.

Mawzūn :

Rāja Rām Narā'in of 'Aẓimabād. His father was employed in the Secretariat of Nawwāb Mahābat Jang. Later on, a heriditary right to the same office was conferred upon him. He was a brave soldier, and a pupil of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn. He died in 1170 A.H. (1756 A.D.).

Mawzūn :

Rāja Madan Singh of Itawah. His father Rāja Jagat Singh was attached to the court of Ghaziu'd-Dīn Khān who, investing him with the rank of *Sih hazāri* (Three Thousand) and the title of Rāja, appointed him as his *Dīwān*. Madan Singh received the rank of two thousand with flag and drum as well as the title of Rāja from Nāṣir Jang of the Deccan. He was commissioned to guard the Muṣṭafānagar fort which he held until the British army advanced and besieged it. He stood firmly to his last breath. He fell as the result of a gun shot and died at the age of 50 in 1179 A.H. (1765 A.D.). He was a talented writer of Persian prose and poetry.

کرد گلشن جلوهٔ رنگین یار آئینه را
می رسد عرض قد مبوس از بهار آئینه را

The mirror was turned into a garden on account of beloved's beautiful reflection falling therein. The spring in the mirror thus appears to be kissing his feet.

Naqqād :

Pandit Jaigopal Kashmiri was one of the friends of Qāḍī Muḥammad Ṣādiq Akhtar and a pupil of Qātīl.

Wāmiq :

A Khattari by caste, he embraced Islam as the result of his association with *Mawlawī* 'Abdullāh, son of Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Ḥakīm of Sialkot and changed his name to Muḥammad Ikhlas Khān. He was employed in the Secretariat of Aurangzīb as an agent of some of his nobles. He wrote both prose and poetry of such a high order that even the Emperor himself admired it. In his youth he displayed a keen interest in versification and later he directed his attention to the study of other arts and learning. He died in 1143 A.H. (1730 A.D.).

محتسب می کشی از دست تو مشکل شده است
شیشهٔ مے به بغل آبلهٔ دل شده است

O *Muḥtasib* (Police Officer) it has been too difficult to drink because of you. The bottle of wine under the arm has turned a blister in the heart.

Wafā :

Pandit Dayānāth, son of Satrām of Kashmir, was a pupil of Mirzā 'Alī Akbar 'Ārif Shirazi.

Waqar :

Mudiru'd-Dawlah Munshiu'l Mamālik Rāja Jawālā Prasad Bahādur *Muḥkam Jang* held the high office of Chief Secretary to Their Majesties Amjad 'Alī Shāh and Wājid 'Alī Shāh of Oudh. Inspite of such power and authority he had no harsh words for anybody. He was a gifted writer of Persian prose and poetry. His *Diwān* has been printed.

Other poets worth mentioning, about whom little is known to us, are Lāla Baij Nāth Mushtāq of Bareilly, Lāla Rām Bakhsh of Qannawj, Pandit Dayā Nāth, native of Kashmir and ā pupil of Mirzā 'Ali Fākhir 'Ārif Shirazi, Mekulal Rif'at of Lucknow, Raj Gobind Bakhsh Ḍiyā's, (died in 1245 A.H. 1830 A.D.). Lāla Mōjī Rām, Sheo Singh of Lucknow and Gokulchand Hindu, Khattari by caste resident of Farrukhabad.

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CHAPTER VII

HINDU PERSIAN PROSE WRITERS AND AUTHORS

The number of Hindu Persian literary men is so overwhelmingly large that they cannot possibly be enumerated within the compass of this chapter. Many of them were really very good writers and many possessed the capability of official correspondence only in accordance with the requirements of the time. As compared with other castes, the Kayesthas rose to a greater height of glory in respect of their number. But in point of the beauty of language and force of expression the Brahmins of India in general and those of Kāshmir in particular surpassed them. As in these days English language used by Bengalis is called 'Babu English', so was the case of Persian language used by Kayesthas in the mediaeval India. It was known as 'Kayesthian Persian'.

Offices were mostly staffed with the Hindus who, as it were, monopolised the secretariat and revenue departments. In the later period of the Muslim rule they came to occupy high offices in these departments. It was customary to designate them as *Mir Munshi* or entitle them as *Munshiu'l-Mamālik.* These office bearers invariably possessed a literary bent of mind. All the orders and *farmans* issued from the Royal Court were drafted by them. Most of them were appointed as chroniclers also.

The *farmans*, letters and documents, drafted by Hindu scholars when accumulated and popularised, were compiled in the form of a book. Some of these compilations gained such a wide popularity that they were selected for incorporation in the syllabus prescribed from time to time. For instance, the *Munsha'āt-i-Brahmin*, the *Inshā'i-Māhūrām*, the *Munsha'āt-i-Jawāharmal*, *Khayālāt-i-Nādir*, and the *Dastūru's-Sibyān* belong to this category.

It has repeatedly been pointed out elsewhere that the Hindus diverted their attention for the first time towards the study of Persian under the rulers of the Lūdi dynasty. This is further corroborated by the fact that the first Persian scholar amongst the Hindus lived in the Lūdi regime. Anyhow, let us examine below the various spheres in which the Hindu writers and thinkers worked.

A. PROSE WRITERS

Pandit Dūngarmal:

Pandit Dūngarmal lived in the reign of Sikandar Lūdi. Even Muslim scholars were amazed at his knowledge of Persian. Now and then he wrote Persian couplets. The following couplet composed by him is quoted by the chroniclers.

دل خون نشدے چشم تو خنجر نه شدے گر
ره گم نشدے زلف تو ابتر نشدے گر

The heart would not have bled, had your eyes not been like a dagger. One would not have been misled but for your ensnaring tresses.

Tōdarmal:

He was a Khattari. He pursued the Persian studies in the time of Shīr Shāh and thereby

gained access to the Royal Court. After the fall of Shīr Shāh he was included in the body of the scholars and experts known as the 'Nine Jewels' attached to Akbar's court. He was installed to the office of the Revenue Minister. He had acquired proficiency in Persian calligraphy also. In the *Tadhkirah-i Khushnawisān* he has been mentioned as a skilful writer and a well versed calligraphist.

Rā'i Manōhar Lāl:

He was the son of Ra'i Laun Karan. He was educated and trained by Prince Salīm (later Jahāngīr). He is spoken very highly of by various chroniclers for his command of the Persian language.

Chandrabhan Brahmin:

He has already been referred to in the previous chapter. He was the greatest scholar of Persian literature in Shāh-Jahān's time. A Brahmin of the Punjab, he was born at Lahore. His potentialities were developed under *Mullā* Karīm. Brahmin was his pen-name under which he wrote Persian poetry. His Persian *Dīwān* can still be seen in the libraries. He had also acquired mastery of Persian prose, by virtue of which he was appointed a Private Secretary to Amīru'l-Umarā' Afḍal Khān. In 1048 A.H. (1638 A.D.) after the death of Afḍal Khān he passed on to the Royal Court, where he was appointed as the Chief Editor of the Royal Chronicles and Diary. The performance of his duties brought him an opportunity of daily attendance in the Royal Court to recite its entries, day after day. He presented his book, the *Chahār Chaman*, on the occasion of New Year's Day celebrations in

the Royal Court held at Sirhind by Shāh Jahān. On being convinced of his deep knowledge and rare talents prince Dārā Shukūh, who specially patronised the talented Hindus, admitted him to the high order of the scholars of his time. Chandar Bhān also collected his letters in the book, entitled *Munsha'āt-i-Brahmin*. He learnt calligraphy from Āqā 'Abdu'r-Rashīd.

Harkarandās :

Son of Muthrādās, residenet of Multan, Kamboh by caste, he was living in 1031 A.H. (1621 A.D.). He was attached as *Mīr Munshi* (Chief Secretary) to I'tibār Khan, Governor of Akbarābad, one of the nobles of Jahāngīr's Court. This fact shows the thoroughness of his knowledge of Persian literature. He is the author of the '*Inshā-i-Har-Karan*, which is still found in some libraries.

Wāmiq Khattari :

He worked as agent to one of the nobles of 'Ālamgīr's Court. He had commanded such a reputation as a writer of Persian prose and poetry that the Emperor, who was himself a high ranking scholar, appreciated his ability and attainments very much.

Sheorām Kāyesth :

He was resident of Akbarābad and his father held the office of *Mutasaddi* (Accounts Officer) under Nawwāb Asad Khān, the Minister of 'Ālamgīr. He was a pupil of Mirzā Bīdīl and he wrote the '*Gulgasht-i-Bahār-i-Iram*' after the pattern of the *Chār 'Unṣur*, composed by his teacher. He died in 1144 A.H. (1731 A.D.).

Kunwar Prem Kishore:

He was a grandson of Rāja Jugal Kishore and was a poet and a writer of anecdotes, a callīgraphist and author of some *Mathnawis*.

Munshi Lāchhman Singh

Baqqāl (grocer) by caste, he was endowed with great intelligence and mental alertness. He had the good luck of benefiting from the company of some Irānians. His style was accordingly modelled on the pattern of Irānian prose writers. He was a good writer of both Arabic and Persian. According to the author of the *Tadhkirā-i-Khush Nawīsān*, he was well practised in the art of composition and possessed a good knowledge of the Arabic and Persian literatures. In the company of the Irānian Mīrzās, he developed his mental faculties as well as a style on the pattern of Ṭāhir Waḥīd and Ṭāhir of the Deccan. He was a pupil of Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Khān in calligraphy, of Mirzā Āghā in Shafī'ah, and of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn Faqīr in poetry. The *Shu'la-i-Ah* is one of his works. The couplets of Ẓuhūrī could be recited extempore by him.

Pandit Lāla Lachhmi Rām:

He was employed under *Dhu'l-Fiqāru'd-Dawlah* Najaf Khān and died in 1169 A.H. (1755 A.D.). The author of the *Tadhkira-i-Khush Nawīsān* observes that he was an unparalleled scrible and was well versed in Arabic, Persian and art of painting and that persons of his accomplishments and aptitudes are rarely born.

Khushwaqt Rā'i Shādāb :

He came of a respectable Khattari family of repute. He displayed a keen interest in studies from childhood until he acquired knowledge to such a degree that he was regarded as one of the greatest scholars of the day. The above cited *Tadhkira* mentions him as one interested from infancy in the acquisition of knowledge and learning which he had well attained while quite young, and had surpassed his contemporaries in that respect. The *Tadhkira* says that he also possessed great skill in the art of calligraphy and that a man of his magnanimity and scholarship is seldom born in his community.

Rā'i Prem Nāth :

The members of his family had held for a long time one or the other office under the, then Government. He himself was Incharge of Shāh ʿĀlam's Secretariat. As a calligraphist and a literary man he had no equal in his time. He left behind a large number of his pupils to perpetuate his memory.

Sukhrām Dās :

He was the son of Nīlkanth, but is not known when he lived. The *Amadnāma-i-Bādi* is one of his works. In its introduction it is stated that he resided in the suburbs of Lucknow and held the post of *Qānūngū* in the days of Oudh kingship.

Munia Narā'in :

Munia Narā'in alias Sudhi, son of Chain Rā'i, Khattari by caste, inhabitant of the Punjab, was selected as his secretary

by Muhkam Singh in the regime of Farrukh Siyar. On his way to Mārwār along with his master he hoped to get the *Hūsh Afzā* written by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Kashmiri. A perusal of this book urged him to write a Persian supernatural and miraculous stories relating to the ancient India. Consequently he started writing a book named the *Gulshan-i-Isrār-i-Rabbāni* which was completed in 1134 A.H. (1721 A.D.). The contents of the book are based on selections from the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārat* and the *Bhagwat Gita*.

Munshi Mōhan Lāl Munim :

He lived in the time of Akbar II. He produced three Mathnawis, entitled *Bahār-i-'Ishq*, the *Shāh Rukh* and the *Dilbar Jahān*. The last two Mathnawis were presented by him to Akbar II.

Kishah Singh :

He was the son of Rā'i Parān Nāth Khattari and a resident of Sialkot. He was a good Persian writer and wrote *Panj Karoshi* and *Gharibu'l-Inshā*. The latter was written in 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.).

Banwalidān Wali :

He has already been mentioned in the list of the historians in this book. His achievement in the field of literature can be estimated from his Persian translation of a drama written in Bhāsha under the title of the *Parodh Chandra Vidya*. He was alive in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.).

Dūni Chand :

He wrote a story under the title of *Gekoharnāmah* in 1137 A.H. (1782 A.D.). He brought out a book entitled

Miftāḥ-i-Khazā'in which is the collection of a large number of letters, some of which are very important from historical point of view.

Munshi Thorimal Tamkin* :

A well known scholar of Persian, he lived early in the 12th century A.H. (18th century A.D.). His grandson, Parān Chand Sarshār, son of Bakht Mal, collected his letters in a book entitled *Guldastai-i-Faiḍ*. These letters were written in or about 1139 A.H. (1726 A.D.).

Munshi Sajjan Rāipuri :

He was attached to the court of the Rāja of Rāipur in 1167 A.H. (1753 A.D.) in the reign of Shujā'u'd-Dawlah. He adopted Munshi as his pen-name which he justified literally by writing a book on the art of letter writing entitled *Inshā'i-Niyāznāma*. The book is divided into three parts under the headings of *Arā'id* (applications), *Raqā'im* (letters) and *Tharahā*-i-*Mutafarriq* (miscellaneous writings).

Munshi Jaswant Rā'i :

He lived in 1200 A.H. (1785 A.D.) during the regime of 'Ālamgīr II. He brought out a collection of important letters of eminent personages under the title of *Gulshan-i-Bahār*. These letters reveal considerable information of political and military importance. He has left a Persian *Diwān* also.

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* It may be pronounced 'Tahawwari Mal'.

Mansrām :

Munshi was his pen-name. He composed in verse a romantic story of *Hir and Rānjha*, the *Majnūn and Lailā* of the Punjab. So to say he was a charming poet of love lyrics. He passed away in 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.).

Iwaḍ Rā'i :

His pen-name was Masarrat. He composed the *Qaṣida-i-Masarrat,* which he presented in the court of Shāh 'Ālam. He manifested his great talents by addressing the Emperor in a fresh and new style in each of its couplets. A manuscript of the same is contained in the Bengal Asiatic Society Library.

Nihāl Chand Lahori :

He was the author of a fiction entitled *Madhab-i-'Ishq.* Since in the creed of love disclosure of one's identity amounts to the violation of its tenets, the details of his life could not be unearthed.

Lāla Bhūpat Rā'i :

He was the author of the *Dastūr-i-Shangarf,* a book on the art of eloquence and rhetoric. Manuscript of the same are available in the Bengal Asiatic Library and the Hyderabad Library, but they give no information about the author's life. The Hyderabad manuscript bears 1192 A.H. (1778 A.D.) as the year of its writing.

*Lāla Bhōchak Rā'i** :

He was a resident of Fyzabad. He wrote a commentary on the *Gulistan* of S'adī the MSS. of which is available in the Bengal Asiatic Society Library.

* The name may be pronounced Bhichak Ram.

Munshi Ishwari Dās :

He was a Secretary to 'Amiru'l Umarā' Nawwāb Ghaḍanfar Jang, the ruler of Farrukhabad. A Persian biographer appreciates his ability and style of writing as under :-

"He wrote both prose and poetry with lucidity of expression and elegance of diction, full of the figures of speech. I have read some of his chronicles and biographical notes which, in fact, reveal how lucidly and exquisitely he wrote."

Munshi Tekchand Bahār :

As more details about him will be given later, let it suffice to mention him here, as the author of the *Bahār-i-Būstān* a commentary on Sa'di's *Būstān*.

Anand Rām :

A literary writer of Persian, he belongs to the later period. He died about 1159 A.H. (1746 A.D.). His *Chamanistān* still continues to diffuse its sweet smell. The book narrates a Persian story. It was printed in 1294 A.H. (1877 A.D.).

Mātā Prasād :

He also wrote a Persian story under the title of the *Saḥifatu'sh-Shawq*. Its manuscript written in 1282 A.H. (1865 A.D.) is available in the Āṣafiyyah Library.

Dīn Dayāl :

He was the author of a Persian story, entitled *Ajību'l-Qaṣaiṣ* popularly known as the *Shābistān-i-'Ishrāt*. The book was printed in 1296 A.H. (1878 A.D.).

Amar Singh :

He versified in Persian under the title of *Ramā'in-i-Amar Parkāsh*, the legends connected with Pārbati, Mahādeo, Rām Chandaraji and Rāja Dasrath.

Sialkoti Mal :

He was a great literary man of the later period. He left behind the *Sifāt-i-Kā'nāt* on the art of rhetoric, which was printed in 1295 A.H. (1878 A.D.). Another work of his is the *Rajmu'sh-Shayāṭin* written in reply to the *Tanbīhu'l Ghāfilīn* by Sirāj Ārzū.

Lachhmi Narā'in :

He was the son of Māmi Rām and pupil of Sirāju'd-Dīn Ārzū. He migrated from Lahore, his home town, to stay in Delhi. But Durrāni's invasions drove him to Bareilly, then to Aurangabad and lastly to Lucknow. His Persian letters are very popular. He collected them in the form of a book under the title the *Ruqq'āt-i-Lachhmi Narā'in* in 1205 A.H. (1790 A.D.).

Lachhmi Narā'in :

He lived in Ḥājipur, (in Bihar). He held the post of *Pishkār* (Reader) under Prince Bīdār Bakht during the regime of 'Ālamgīr, and had a rank of three hundred in 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.). He compiled his selections from the *Shāhnāma* the preface of which opens with the following couplet :-

شکرو سپاس و نعمت و منت خدائے را

پروردگار خلق و خداوند کبریا

All thanks and blessings are due to Almighty God, who is the Creator of the whole world and the Great Lord.

Rāja Rām Narā'in :

He was the son of Lachhmi Narā'in. He rose to political eminence in 'Aẓīmabad (Patna) and so his descendants continued to command public esteem for a long time. He was a pupil of Shaikh Ḥazīn. Himself a literary man, he extended his patronage to the contemporary men of letters. He fell in the battles of Nawwāb Qāsim. He was well read and ever devoted to studies.

Kewal Rām :

He lived during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam, and was attached as a Secretary to the Oudh Secretariat in 1197 A.H. (1782 A.D.). He wrote a book under the title of *Talismāt-i-Khayāl* on the art of letter writing containing 50 parts.

Pandit Kirpāndhan :

His date of birth is not known. He wrote the *Mathnawī Dilpasand*, a manuscript of which, written in 1243 A.H. (1827 A.D.) can be seen in the Bengal Asiatic Society Library.

Munshi Khayāli Rām :

He belonged to Lucknow and was connected with the court of Wājid 'Alī Shāh. His pen-name was 'Khayāli'. Master of Persian prose and poetry, he wrote more than 100 books, including a commentary on the *'Ijāz-i-Khusrawi*, the most difficult of all the books written by Amīr Khusraw.

Munshi Mādhō Rām :

Resident of Delhi, highly proficient in the Persian language, he composed a book entitled *Inshā'-i-Mādhō Rām*, which includes letters addressed to the various kings, princes and nobles. Formerly it was included in the syllabus of the Persian studies.

Below are mentioned some of the books on epistolography, written by the Hindu writers about whom nothing more is known :-

The *Inshā'-i-Binuqaṭ* (containing dotted letters only) by Kāmtā Prasād ; the *Inshā'-i-Tamyiz* by Munshī Kālī Rā'i ; the *Inshā'-i-Dawlat Rām* by Dawlat Rām ; the *Inshā'-i-Rāhat-Jān* by Munshī Jaisingh Rā'i, it contains essays on various topics such as generosity , justice etc.; the *Inshā'-i-Harsahāy* by Harsahāy, it contains the rules of composition in Persian prose and poetry ; the *Khayālāt-i-nādir* by Munshī Har Narā'in of Delhi ; the *Dastūru'ṣ-ṣibyān* by Lāla Nauand Rā'i ; the *Ruqq'āt-i-Niẓāmiyyah* by Lachhmi Dās (printed); the *Dastūru'l-Imtiyāz* by Khushḥāl Rā'i (a manuscript, scribed in 1203 A.H. (1788 A.D.) is to be seen in the Āṣafiyyah Library.) ; the *Gulshan-i-'ajā'ib* by Rām Singh printed in 1233 A.H. (1808 A.D.) and the *Nādiru'l-Inshā'* by Kishanji Pandit, who probably belonged to the Deccan. The Āṣafiyyah Library contains a manuscript of the same.

B. DICTIONARY WRITERS

The study of certain language does not merely imply an ability to read, write and understand that language. This is only the primary stage. The real knowledge of a language

implies a command over it as masterly as possessed by those who speak it as their mother tongue. A scholar of a foreign language should not only possess the knowledge of the sources and roots of words used in that language, but he should also be able to discriminate between the appropriate and inappropriate terms used in various contexts. He should also be familiar with the style and diction followed by the leading writers and gain mastery over the formation of compound words, expression of ideas and use of idioms. We have now to consider whether or not the knowledge of Persian language possessed by the Hindu writers of Persian prose and poetry was of a higher standard than that laid down in these days for proficiency in a foreign language.

Upto Akbar's reign there existed more than 44 dictionaries of different sizes. But all of them had been compiled by the old writers who used Persian as their mother tongue, and so they did not fulfil the requirments of Indians. There were certain words and phrases regarded too simple to be explained, although they presented great difficulty to a student of Persian as a foreign language. The question of idioms is much more baffling than that of the words. Since a writer having Persian as his mother tongue can fully appreciate the aptness and application of an idiom, he is likely to presume that the rest of the world would understand it like him. In brief, it was for these reasons that Hindu writers felt the importance of compiling Persian dictionaries. They are mentioned below :-

Tek Chand Bahār :

He was a Khattari by caste and was one of the promising pupils of Sirāju'd-D n 'Alī <u>Kh</u>ān Ārzū of Akbarabad. He

was the master of the intricacies of the Persian language. He had been benefited from the company of Iranians for a long time. He compiled several Persian dictionaries, namely, *Bahār-i-'Ajam*, the *Nawādiru'l-Masādir*, the *Jawāhirul-Ḥurūf* etc., the first of which is most famous. He has stated in its preface that from his childhood right upto the age of 53 he devoted his full time to an analytic study of Persian language and laboured continuously for a period of twenty years to compile it. He personally revised the draft no less than seven times before finalising it. It was the last effort of his life and he breathed his last immediately after the preparation of its final draft. His pupil Munshi Indarman undertook its eighth revision and completed it with its introduction and epilogue in 1184 A.H. (1770 A.D.). This dictionary became so popular that it was consulted by all men of letters and it is still quoted as an authority. Every Persian knowing person is familiar with it. While giving the meanings and usages of idioms, the author has quoted Parsian poets by way of authority.

Sialkotimal Wārasta :

He is better known by his pen-name (Wārasta). It was Warasta who wrote the *Rajmu'sh-Shayāṭin* in reply to the criticism levelled by Sirāj Ārzū against Shaikh Ḥazīn. It can be easily appreciated to what extent he had acquired mastery over, and developed intelligent understanding, of the Persian language which enabled him to participate in the controversy between the linguistic experts, playing a role both offensive and defensive. It was, again, his deep love for the language which actuated him to visit Iran and stay there for a period of 15 years. The *Muṣṭalāḥātu'sh-Shu'arā* and the *Sifāt-i-Kā'inat* are

the memorable outcomes of his journey. The former, though covering 400 pages only, was a fruit of 15 year's toil. He writes in its Persian introduction :-

"When I came across some extraordinary and strange idioms in some elegant verses composed by Persian poets, I resolved to make researches therein, but inspite of a careful consultation of the existing dictionaries, I failed to explain some of them, so I had to approach the Iranian linguists in their own country and spent 15 years on this mission. Whatever I listened from them illustrative of their use has been incorporated in this book for the benefit of the lovers of the Persian language in general".

Pandit Gangā Bishan :

Nothing of his life is known except that he compiled a dictionary named the *Farhang-i-Shir-u-Shakar* containing Arabic and Persian words.

Kāshirāj Khattari :

He is the author of the *Lughat-i-Panjabi* in Persian, a manuscript of which is available in the Bengal Asiatic Society Library.

Girdhārilāl :

A resident of the Deccan, he compiled a Persian dictionary entitled the *Ganju'l-Lughāt* in 1241 A.H. The Āṣafiyyah Library contains its manuscript.

Munshi Kāmtā Prasād:

He adopted 'Nādān' as his pen-name. He lived in the Deccan and wrote the *Haft Gul* on Persian grammar. The Āṣafiyyah Library contains a manuscript of the same.

Mendūlāl:

His pen-name was Zār. He produced a book on Persian grammar under the title of the *Bahār-i-'Ulūm*. Its manuscript is to be seen in the Āṣafiyyah Library.

Farhang-i-Anandrāj:

It does not appear appropriate to include the *Farhang-i-Anandrāj* in this list for two reasons. Firstly, its compiler is a Muslim; secondly, it was compiled in the post-Muslim period of Indian history. Yet it has to be mentioned with a view to paying off the debt. The *Farhang-i-Anandrāj* was compiled long ago in compliance of the orders of a Hindu Rāja named Anand Rāj of Madras. This is the most voluminous dictionary, covering several thousand pages in three volumes of folio size. Not only does it contain Persian words like other Persian dictionaries, but it includes such Arabic words also as are current in Persian. The preface to the book shows that thousands of rupees were spent by the Rāja on its compilation. Reference books were procured from distant countries to set up a library for the purpose. A substantial honorarium was paid to the author per mensum. The Rāja himself got it printed and published.

In this connection it would not be out of place to make an important point. Although Indians have compiled these

days English dictionaries, Marhatti, Bengali and Urdu; but as a matter of fact they have only played the role of a translator. They have only given the equivalents in their own mother tongue of English words from some authoritative dictionary. But the services rendered to the state language (Persian) of their time by Tek Chand Bahār and wārsata have known no parallel yet. What was achieved by our old Munshis could not be accomplished by the westernised writers of the modern age. The former served the language with their personal contributions and researches based on their own study of prose and poetry works as well as their personal contact and discussions with the Iranians whereas the latter did nothing of the sort.

C. TRANSLATORS.

For the unification and fusion of two different national cultures, the best device is to unify their literatures by means of translation into one common language, which dissolves them as it were into one chemical compound. Dr. Tej Bahādur Sapru has fully stressed its importance in the first number of the *Subḥ-i-Umīd.* In this modern age it is imperative to renew our efforts in this direction as our ancestors had followed the same method with success. Here it is not proposed to assess what the Muslims did in this field, but to examine the achievement of the Hindu translators of the past.

Doubtless, the real success in our efforts to achieve mutual goodwill and understanding rests in the hands of the translators, who present the ideas and ideals of one nation to

the other in order to bring home the truth that they are not at variance basically but at one with each other. As a matter of fact translation started with the beginning of the Muslim rule in India as the result of their thirst for knowledge ; and to bring about harmony between the two communities was not their main objective.

In the reign of Akbar the Great, the Muslim 'Ulamā and Hindu Pandits in compliance of the Emperor's order joined hands to translate the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārat*, the *Singāsān*, the *Battisi*, the *Lilāwati*, the *Naldaman*, the *Tājik*, the *Hāribans*, the *Atherveda*, etc. Those Pandits who had a major share in this project were Gangādhar, Mahesh, Mahānand, Kishan Jōshi and Bhāwan. It is regretted that nothing of their lives is known.

Later the time came when, not on the initiative of the kings but of their own accord, some of the Hindu Pandits voluntarily set to work in this field. Their names with their individual contributions are noted below :-

Girdhardās·

Kāyesth by caste, resident of Delhi, he translated the *Rāmāyana* into Persian in 1036 A.H. (1626 A.D.) during the reign of Jahāngīr. This translation is contained in the British Museum, London.

Banwālidās:

He adopted 'Walī' as his pen-name. He was attached to Prince Dārā Shukūh as his Chief Secretary. He translated into Persian a story named the *Parodachandra Vidyā*.

Pandit Lachhmi Narā'in :

He translated the *Aprokha Niyoti* of Shankara Āchāriya into Persian under the title of the *Hadāiqu'l Ma'rafat.*

Munshi Makhkhan Lāl :

His translation of the *Rāmāyana* in known as the *Jahān-i-Zafar.*

Amarsingh :

He brought out the *Rāmāyan Amar Prakāsh* containing the brief life sketches of Pārbati, Mahādeo, Rām Chandra and Rāja Dasrath.

Pandit Amarnāth :

With 'Shaida' as his pen-name he wrote a book entitled *Khayālāt-i-Shaida,* containing an account of the words in accordance with the four *Vedās.*

Rām Prasād :

He came of an Oudh family and served as treasurer to Nawwāb Nāẓim Muḥammad Dārāb Khān. In 1227 A.H. (1812 A.D.) he translated the *Amatcharitra* as desired by the sa d Nawwāb under the title of the *Makhzanu'l-'Irfan.*

Gōpāl :

He was the son of Sri Govind. He translated the *Rāmāyana* into Persian, a manuscript of which dated 1871 A.D. contained in the Bengal Asiatic Library.

Anand Ghan Gōshā'in :

Khush was his pen-name. He translated the *Kashi Khandās* into Persian, a manuscript of which dated 1208 A.H. is available in the Bengal Asiatic Library.

Anand Kunwar :

A manuscript of his translation of the *Giyān Sāgar* is to be found in Bengal Asiatic Society Library.

Zorāwar Singh :

He translated some Sanskrit books into Persian: Of his life nothing is known.

Murlidhar :

He translated the *Siri Bhagwat*, a manuscript of whose translation is contained in the aforesaid society.

Rā'o Dalpat Singh :

He has already been mentioned in the Section of History, Chapter IV, with his original name, Dalpat Rā'i. During the tenure of his office under Mahārāja Jagat Singh, the ruler of Udaipur, he made a glorious achievement by translating the *Diwān* of Ḥāfiẓ S͟hīrazi into Hindi.

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CHAPTER VIII

A. HINDU WRITERS OF RATIONAL SCIENCES

It is proposed to discuss here the contribution made by the Hindus in the field of rational sciences namely, Physics, Metaphysics, Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, etc. It cannot be denied that India is one of those countries which promoted the development of these sciences. It is, however, a matter of controversy whether those sciences were born in India as claimed by the Indians themselves, or they were introduced here by the Greeks, as stated by the Europeans. But it will have to be acknowledged that the Indians had gained sufficient proficiency in the most of them and become masters of Mathematics and Astronomy to a great extent.

A Hindu mind is normally possessed of special aptitude for Mathematics. During the Muslim rule the number of Hindu Mathematicians and Geometricians far exceeded that of other scholars. We are not aware of those Brahmins who benefitted from the Arab researches through Al-Biruni; nor do we know those who worked in this field in subsequent centuries. Yet the fact remains that the Sanskrit works were substantially influenced by the Arab rational researches. Le Bon, French author of the *Indian Civilization* affirms that after the 11th century A.D. the Indian Sciences meant nothing other

than the Arab Sciences. The Indian Sciences which started with the Mathematical research of Arya-Bhatta in the 5th century A.D., were subsequently enlarged in the 7th century A.D. by Baraham Gupta. They deal only with those problems which were introduced in India by the Greeks and the Muslims.

THE HINDU SCHOLARS OF RATIONAL SCIENCES DURING AKBAR'S AGE.

Abu'l Faḍl is that single historian who did not ignore even the minutest details of the period covered by his master's reign. He has mentioned in his *A'in-i-Akbari* under the heading *Dānish Amūzān-i- Dawlat*, 142 scholars of different branches of learning. In the pages of this book both the Hindu and the Muslim scholars and philosophers of eminence have been mentioned side by side. Under the heading of *Shanāsā-i-'Aqli Kalām*, Abu'l Faḍl has given a list of his contemporaries as follow :-

Narā'in, Mādhobhat, Srī Bhat, Bishun Nāth, Rām Kirishna, Balbhadar Misra, Bāsdeo Misra, Bāhun Bhat, Vidya Nawās, Gōri Nāth, Gōpāl Nāth, Kishun Pandit, Bhattāchārya, Bhāgīrath, Kāshi Nāth and Bātta Rāj.

Under the direction and supervision of the Muslim scholars, Kishun Jōshi, Gangādhar and Mahānand collaborated to translate from Persian into Hindi the *Zich-i-Jadid* of

Mirzā Ulugh Bēg, which was an outcome of the latest researches made by the Muslim astronomers.

JAI SINGH'S OBSERVATORIES

The Muslim rulers set up observatories in such parts of the world as were brought under their cultural influence. A detailed account of these observatories has been given in various numbers of the *Al-Nadwah* published in 1909 A.D. In this connection it is to be stated here that many Muslim rulers endeavoured to establish obervatories in India. Fīrūz Shāh Bahmani and Shāh Jahān started the work, but for various reasons it had to be abandoned and was left to Muḥammad Shāh to complete.

Jai Singh Kachhwāhā, Rāja of Amber, gained prominence as a Military Officer during the reign of Aurangzīb and his successors. He was appointed as the Governor of Agra and Malwa in the regime of Muḥammad Shāh. He set up a new Headquarters of his State and named it Jaipur by which name the state is still known. Jai Singh was a scholar and a great lover of knowledge. He was well accomplished in Arabic art and learning and specially interested in the science of astronomy.

He compiled the *Zich-i-Muḥammad Shāhi* on the lines of the *Zich-i-Jadīd* of Ulugh Bēg, the *Tashilat* of Mullā Chānd Akbarī and the *Zich-i-Shāhjahāni* of Mullā Farīd Shāhjahāni and presented it to the king. It was the time when the Indians were being attracted towards the scientific advancement made by the Europeans. At the instance of the king, the Muslim, Hindu and Christian experts were summoned to

Delhi to undertake the construction of an observatory in 1137 A.H. (1725 A.D.) under the supervision of Mirzā Amīr Allāh, the Geometrician. Some of the instruments and apparatuses, provided in this observatory, were those which had been used in the Samarqand observatory of Ulugh Bēg and some were quite new and had been invented by them.

In order to complete and corroborate the obervations of the Delhi observatory, the Rāja set up other observatories at Jaipur, Mathura, Benaras and Ujjain after the Delhi model. The relics of the Delhi and Benaras observatories still exist and I have seen them. I am not sure about others.*

However, these Hindu, Muslim and English astronomers worked together for seven years in these observatories. Some of them were sent to Europe under the leadership of a priest named Manoel. The information collected and brought by this band of scholars was examined in the light of the basic principles of their own. This was the first observatory in the East which concurred with the astronomical researches of the West. The *Zich-i-Muḥammad Shāhi* was prepared with the help of the observation of heavenly bodies conducted at this observatory. This *Zich* consists of three sections, namely, knowledge of years, knowledge of the regulations of time and the knowledge of movements of the planets and stars.

The Rāja made another important contribution in this field by getting some authentic Arabic books on astronomy translated into Hindi at a cost of thousands of rupees.

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* The Jaipur observatory is also in existance and is visited by a large number of foreign visitors every year.

Bahādur Khān the Ruler of Tikāri:

Ihtishamu'd-Dawla Mubārizu'l Mulk Rāja Bahādur Khān, *Nusrat Jang* may be regarded by our Hindu friends of this age as a name for a Muslim noble. But it should be known that he was the son of Mahārāja Mitrjīt Singh, Rāja of Tikāri (Bihar). This Rāja had lived 30 years before the Indian mutiny (War of Independence). He was well versed in Arabic and Persian learning. His court was a rendezvous of the Hindu and Muslim scholars alike. *Mawlāna* Ghulām Husain Jawnpuri, a reputed mathematician of that time, was one of them. He says about the Rāja that of all the branches of knowledge there was none in which he was not fully conversant.

One day the Rāja stated in an assembly of the scholars that there had been a gradual deterioration of learning for several reasons. One of them was that most of the books on Science and literature were in Arabic from which Persian knowing people could not be benefitted. It was, therefore, essential prepare in the Persian a comprehensive book containing theories and principles of every branch of learning. During the last 300 years commencing from '*Allāma* 'Abdu'l 'Alī Barjandī's time no book had been written of that type. Eventually the Rāja ordered *Mawlāna* Ghulām Husain to start writing this sort of book.

The said the *Mawlāna* wrote a comprehensive book in Persian under the title of the *Jāmi-i-Bahādur Khāni* on the subject of Mathematics, the like of which can perhaps scarcely be found in Arabic. It would be most fitting to call it the Encyclopedia of Mathematics. This book contains Chapters on Geometry, Optics, Arithmetic, Algebra. Astronomy and Observator

apparatuses and regulations with scores of topics and sections thereunder. The whole book covers 714 pages of big size, each containing 25 lines. It was commenced in 1248 A.H. (1832 A.D.) and was completed the next year in the time of Akbar II. The times of the rising and setting of stars have been laid down according to the observation made in the fortress of Tikāri. The author has also compared the ancient researches with the latest European ones.

Rāja Ratan Singh Zakhmi :

Saksena Kāyesth by caste, he was born at Lucknow in 1197 A.H. (1783 A.D.). The members of his family had held high offices for three generations at the court of Oudh. He was educated at the educational institutions of Lucknow. He was conversant with Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Sanskrit and knew a little English. He had mastery over astronomy and cultivated a taste for Persian poetry. For some time he served under the East India Company and was ultimately appointed to his hereditary post at the Oudh court. He held the office of *Diwān* to Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh and was honoured with the title of *Fakhru'd-Dawla Dabiru'l-Mulk Hushyārjang.* In 1253 A.H. (1837 A.D.) he wrote in Persian a comprehensive book entitled the *Ḥadā'iqu'l-Najm* on the subject of astronomy. He, in this book, supplemented the old Arab knowledge of Astronomy with the modern researches of the West. It is regarded as an authoritative work of its kind and the Muslim scholar, reckon it as one of the books of the highest standard on astronomy.

Rūpa Narā'in :

He died in 1129 A.H. (1717 A.D.). He wrote the *Shash Jihat* on the subject of Geometry. It is highly esteemed by Geometricians. Its manuscript is available.

Indarman :

He was a pupil of Munshī Tek Chand Bahār. Originally he resided at Hissar, but later he settled down at Shahjahanabad. He gave finishing touches to the *Bahār-i-'Ajam* and was a great Mathematician and scholar of Arabic and Persian. In 1180 A.H. (1766 A.D.) he wrote a book on Mathematics, *Dastūru'l-Ḥisāb*. Its manuscript is available in the Bankipur Library:

Medanimal :

Kāyesth by caste, he lived in Aurangzīb's regime. He wrote an excellent book on Mathematics entitled *Badā'ui'u'l-Funūn* in 1074 A.H. (1664 A.D.). Its manuscripts are to be found in the Bengal Asiatic Society and the Āṣafiyyah libraries.

Rām Prasād :

He lived at 'Aẓīmābād, Patna. He compiled the *Miftaḥu'l-Nāẓirīn* on Geometry. This book was printed at Calcutta in 1250 A.H. (1834 A.D.).

Diwān Kānji :

He also lived at Aẓīmābād, Patna. His book on Mathematics and Geometry, entitled the *Khazānatu'l-'Ulūm*, was printed at Calcutta in 1237 A.H. (1821 A.D.).

Rā'i Munnūlāl Falsafī :

He had made a name for his study of philosophy and Sciences. He was a poet also. As he claimed to be a

philosopher, he adopted *Falsafi* as his pen-name. His son Kundanlāl has left an account of his family which shows that from the time of Shāh Jahān, his family continued to possess great riches combined with the wealth of knowledge. Kundanlāl was a Brahmin of Sandīla. About his father (Rā'i Munnūlāl) he writes that his father with Falsafī as his pen-name was a great philosopher of his age and an author of many books.

Rā'i Munnūlāl was at first employed under Nawwāb Faiḍullāh Khān. Thereafter he joined the court of Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla. Then he left it to join service under the East India Company and most probably he picked up some knowledge of English there. He died in 1248 A.H. (1832 A.D.). He left behind many books on different branches of learning such as the *Gulistān-i-Iram*, the *Būstān-i-Ḥairat*, the *Shahristān-i-Nūr*, the *Diwān-i-Ash'ār*, the *Tanqihu'l-Akhbār*, on the subjects of literature, history and geography, and the *Sadidu'l-Istikhrāj*, the *Aḥkām-i-'Ajā'ib*, the *Ḥikmat-i-Angrezī*, and the *Mufradāt-i-Ṭib*, on arithmetic, philosophy, medicine etc.

Kundanlāl Ashki :

He was the son of aforesaid scholar of repute. He first studied Arabic and Persian under his father and uncle and then he received education at the educational institutions of Bareilly, Rampur, Delhi and Benares upto the age of 22. He learnt Sanskrit from Sri Kab Indar Jhā. He was employed for some time under the East India Company and afterwards he got access to the court of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh of Oudh through Nawwāb *Muntaẓimu'd-Dawla Nāẓimu'l Mulk* Mahdī 'Alī Khān and got a rank of four hundred. Later he was

appointed to a post in the Central Secretariat. After the death of Muntaẓimu'd-Dawla he resigned from service and went to Benares where he lived a secluded life.

Kundanlāl was a scholar well versed in Arabic and Islamic studies. He was conversant with Islamic jurisprudence and the sayings of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). He was specially interested in philosophy and mathematics. He compiled the *Zich-i-Ashki* on astronomy; and wrote three books on philosophy in Persian entitled *Hikmat-i-Hindiyyah*, *Iks r-i-Sa'ādat* and *Qisṭās*. The last work can justly be called the Encyclopaedia of learning. The book is divided into four parts. The first and second parts deal with the Hindu and the Greek Philosophy respectively, the third surveys the field of Arabic learning and the fourth treats of modern European sciences. There is nothing in the book to betray his ignorance of any branch of knowledge. It was printed in the Muḥammadia Press at Lucknow in 1225 A.H. (1810 A.D.).

B. HINDU WRITERS ON REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

Three books have been discovered on this subject. The Hindus focussed their attention on the revenue administration because this department was principally dominated by them.

Chhatarmal :

He was the son of Parān Chand. He has left behind a rare book entitled *Diwān-i-Pasand* on this subject. The post of 'Diwān' for agriculture was identical in those days with the post of collector of agricultural revenue. This book is very helpful to every collector in discharging his duties. It consists of 4 sections,

called *Dastūrs*. The first *Dastūr* deals with the proper maintenance of agricultural land, assessment of Government revenues and fixation of the Government share in the corn produce. The second relates to book keeping and accounts. The third deals with personal cultivation. The fourth discusses other financial matters. In its introduction the author takes pride in his specialised knowledge of the state affairs and administrative ability. It is not known when he lived. A manuscript of this monumental work dated 1225 A.H. (1810 A.D.) is to be found in the Bengal Asiatic Society Library.

Chakbast :

Particulars of his life and the time when he lived are not known. The *Thiyāq* written by him in Persian, contains rules and regulations for keeping records and accounts pertaining to revenue administration.

Madan Lāl :

He was the author of the *Majmū'a-i-Thiyāq*. The manuscripts of both the *Thiyāqs* are available in the Āṣafiyyah Library.

Nandrām :

He was the author of the *Thiyāq Nāma*. Its printed copy dated 1879 A.D. is to be found in the Āṣafiyyah Library.

C. WRITERS ON ASTROLOGY

Birbal :

It is not known which Birbal he was. However, he is one who wrote a treatise on astrology in Persian.

Khushwaqt Rā'i :

He was the son of Bhupat Rā'i and author of the *Khāssu'l Nujūm.*

Sadāsukh Kōl :

He was the son of Kēwal Rām and author of the *Kashifu'l Daqā'iq.*

Jawāhar Singh :

He was the author of the *Jawahir-i-Aflāk Wa Jawāhir-i-Idrāk.*

Manuscripts of these pamphlets are contained in the Āṣafiyyah Library.

D. WRITERS ON MEDICINE

Before the advent of the Muslims in India, there were two famous books on medicine known as the *Charka* and the *Shushrut.* The knowledge of medicine possossed by the Muslims included the experiments and the studies made by the Greeks, the Iranians and the Indians with their own considerable additions made thereto. Consequently this new system of medicine had special distinctions as compared with the old system. The improvements made in the Indian system of medicine after the arrival of the Muslims are given below :—

(1) It is but natural with the ruling nation to regard its own knowledge and learning superior to that of the subject nation and to be indifferent to the latter. For instance, at a meeting of the last Legislative

Council, a resolution brought forward by some of its members seeking State patronage and authorisation of the indigenous system of medicine was turned down because of the difference of opinions. But the Muslims never followed this policy in their regime. On the contrary they translated scores of Hindi books into their own language and disseminated their own knowledge of medicine all over the country. With a view to making it suits the Indian nature and temperament they transferred the existing knowledge of the Hindus on the subject to their Persian books and approved them for general use.

When K͟hawāṣ K͟hān, a noble at Sikandar Ludi's court, suggested that the Greek system of medicine did not suit the climatic conditions of India, the Sulṭān ordered the Indian system to be translated from Sanskrit into Persian books. Thereupon the son of K͟hwāṣ K͟hān carried out the orders and accomplished the task. The book thus prepared was named the *Mad'anu'shifā-i-Sikandar Shāhi*. Qāsim Firishta revived the Indian system of medicine before Akbar's regime by composing the *Ikhtiyarat-i-Qāsimi*. The medical science found today in the Indo-Persian literature and particularly all the prescriptions contained in the note books of hereditary physicians are of Indian origin. Similarly the Indian physicians borrowed hundreds of prescriptions, drugs and principles of treatment from the Muslims. These interchanges led to the development of a system which was best suited to the local conditions.

(2) Formerly, only the drugs found in India were used by the Hindu physicians but the Muslims introduced all such drugs and herbs also as had been tried and tested in different parts of the world. The Indian people gradually learnt their use and properties. The scope of medical knowledge was thus considerably expanded.

(3) As far as the varieties of the compound medicines are concerned, many of them were introduced, such as distilled liquid essence of herbs, electuary (*Ma'jūn*), *qirūṭi* (a medicine produced of wax-oil emulsions) powders etc.

(4) Diseases like small pox which were superstitiously believed to be caused by deities or ghosts and considered incapable of medical treatment were declared curable. The first book on small pox was written by an Arab.

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CHAPTER IX

MEDICINE AND OTHER MISCELLANEOUS SCIENCES

A. MEDICINE

The preceding chapter was concluded with the general remarks on the development of medicine in India. It is now proposed to give here a brief account of some of the Hindu physicians flourishing under the Muslim rule.

Sri Bhat:

It was considered essential to retain Hindu physicians along with those of the Muslim community at the royal courts. Of all the classes of Hindu scholars, the class of physicians sought the patronage of Muslim rulers earliest. Of them, flourishing during the Muslim regime, Siri Bhat is the first and foremost. He was attached to the court of Ḥakīm Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābedīn 877 A.H. (1472 A.D.), the ruler of Kashmir, who had personally trained him for practising medicine, as mentioned by Firishta.

Physicians at Akbar's Court :

Abu'l-Faḍl in his *A'īn*, has mentioned a few names of the famous Hindu physicians of Akbar's regime such as Mahādeo, Bhīm Nāth, Narā'in and Sivjī. Unfortunately no necessary

particulars of their lives are known to us. However, we give below a brief account of those physicians who lived in the time of other Muslim rulers :-

Other Physicians

Sukhrāj :

His father was employed under Asad Khān, a minister of 'Ālamgīr. Sukhrāj possessed consummate knowledge of medicine besides other rational sciences. He held a military rank under Sayyid 'Alī-Husain Khān.

Munshi Lachhmi Narā'in Ganjāwi :

He has already been mentioned in the list of the poets. He also studied medicine, like many other Hindus, under the supervision and instructions of the Muslim physicians. His family was associated with the courts of 'Ālamgir and Muḥammad Shāh.

Munshī Rām Prasād 'Aẓimābādi :

He was the son of Gangā Prasād. Though a physician, he did not practice medicine as a vocation of life. Under the East India Company he accepted a job as the Head *Amin* of Patna. As desired by Pandit Dātā Rām, he compiled a book entitled *Mi'yāru'l-Amrād*, on the science of medicine in 1247 A.H. (1831 A.D.). This book is a pathological treatment of all the diseases affecting different parts of human body from the hair of the head to the nails of the feet. It was printed in his life-time.

Rā'i Mannūlāl Falsafi :

He was well versed in medicine besides rational sciences. He has left behind a good book on the subject. He died in 1248 A.H. (1832 A.D.).

Lāla Sōhan Lāl :

He was the brother of Rā'i Mannūlāl of Sandīla. Besides being a Persian scholar, he was second to none amongst the physicians of his time. His nephew Kundan Lāl wrote in the concluding lines of the *Qisṭās* that Lāla Sōhan Lāl was an expert physician and an accomplished scholar of Persian literature.

Buchchūlāl Tamkin Haiderābādi :

He wrote a book in two volumes containing specific remedies based on his own experience. A manuscript of these volumes is to be found in the Āṣafiyyah Library.

Pandit Lāla Chand :

A manuscript of one of his works entitled the *Kuḥlu'l-Abṣār* is to be seen in the Āṣafiyyah Library. As the title of the book suggests, probably it deals with eye diseases.

Diyā Nāth :

He translated the *Pak Hui Kāli* into Persian. Its manuscript is available in the Āṣafiyyah Library.

Munshi Mahtāb Narā'in :

He compiled the *Darūru'ṭ-Ṭib* wherein he discussed properties of various drugs.

Above is the list of those Hindu physicians who wrote books on the subject of medicine in Persian. Yet there are scores of writers who translated Islamic science of medicine to other languages such as Hindi, Marhatti, Bengali and Telugu. Some of the books written in Telugu are included in the lists in the Āṣafiyyah Library. It was the result of this liberal policy and broad-mindedness that important towns apart, even the Hindu grocers in villages had become apothecaries and they sold such drugs as were produced in Arabia, Iran and Turkistan. Inspite of great discouragement and adverse circumstances the lingering vestiges of this system still exist.

B. ETHICS AND SUFIISM

A detailed discussion on ethics and Ṣūfīsm will follow in another treatise named *Islām Kā Athar Hindu Madhab Par* (The effect of Islam on Hindu religion), what is desired here is to mention some Hindu writers who have expressed their ideas on the subject.

Bābā Nānak:

He was the founder of Sikhism. He had a good command over Persian. His *Garanth* is full of hundreds of Persian words and couplets. He was enamoured of Ṣūfī writers such as Mawlawi Rūmī and Ḥāfiẓ. He wrote two books on Ṣūfism named *Ilāhi Nāmah* and the *Dil Ṭalab* besides one hymn composed in a long metre. All of them are contained in the Aṣafiyyah Library.

Rās Satidās :

He lived in the regime of 'Ālamgīr II. He wrote *Muhit-i-Ma'rfat* on the subject of *Taṣawwuf* in 1214 A.H. (1799 A.D.). It was printed in 1865 A.D.

Lālji Dās :

He was a disciple of Bābā Lāl Gurū, the spiritual leader of Dārā Shukūh. He compiled the *Malfuẓāt* (Sayings) of Bābā Lāl in 1185 A.H. (1771 A.D.). A manuscript of this book, scribed during the reign of 'Ālam Shāh, is available in the Government Collection Library.

Bhairūmal :

He wrote in Persian a treatise entitled '*Ilm-i-Jōg*'.

Bishan Singh :

On the subject of *Taṣawwuf*, he wrote a book in Persian entitled *Sheopurān*. Manuscripts of this and the above book are available in the Āṣafiyyha Library.

Rā'i Makhkhanlāl :

He was the writer of the *Akhlaq Nāma* in Persian verse. Its manuscript dated 1193 A.H. (1779 A.D.) can be seen in the Āṣafiyyah Library.

Swāmi Viyās :

He translated the *Jog Bishut* into Persian under the title of *Shāriqu'l-Mā'rafat*. Other particulars about him are not known.

To the above list may be added those mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl in his Ā'īn under the headings in the *Khadiw-i-Nish'atain*, the *Khudawand-i-Bāṭin* and the *Khwānā-i-Naqli Maqāl*. They include Mādhō-Saraswati, Madhudan, Bābā Bilās, Narā'in Asaram, Bābā Kapūr, Bhān Chand, Harjī Sūr, Dāmōdar Parit, Rām Tīrath, Narsingh, Prem Indra, Ādit, Rām Bhadra, Bijey Sen, in addition to Jadrūp Goshā'in, and other Hindu Sūfi writers and thinkers flourishing during the regime of Jahāngīr as mentioned in the *Tuzuk*.

C. MUSIC

The number of musicians flourishing during the period under review is too large to be mentioned here. Music was popular in the earliest times of Indian civilization and India's mastery in this art was accepted on all hands. But it received great impetus under the Muslim rulers. They also made their own contribution by welding it into the musical technique of Iran and Turan. Hindu musicians lived during the Pathan regime also and the munificence of the Sulṭāns of Delhi continued to draw them to the capital where they met Khusraw, the most consummate artist of his time. The most famous of this band of Hindu musicians was Gopāl. He had no less than 1200 pupils who always accompanied him, walking at his heels. Gopāl presented himself at the court of 'Alā'ud-Dīn khalji with the same retinue.

Kashmir has been since long an important centre of the art of music. But it should be clearly understood that there, too, it was Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, 877 A.H. a Muslim

ruler of Kashmir, who encouraged and developed it much. Himself an expert of music, he patronized the musicians very liberally. Musicians from Iran and India consequently flocked there in large number. Farishta writes :-

"When the reputation of Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābidin's munificence had spread far and wide, experts of both vocal and instrumental music from the neighbouring countries flocked to Kashmir so much so that she began to be envied by Europe," *

Bodipat perhaps Devipat, was, on one hand, a learned scholar of Persian literature who knew the whole of the *Shāh Nāmah* by heart. On the other hand his knowledge of music was perfect. He wrote a book on music and named it the *Zain* after the Sulṭān's name. He presented, to the Sulṭān, who appreciated it very much and recompensed him liberally.

As already pointed out, Indian music is not purely the product of Indian soil. It was the catholicity of Muslim rulers combined with their deep aesthetic sense which led to the blending of Iranian and Turanian systems with the technique of Indian music. Abu'l-Faḍl also holds the same opinion as indicated by the following quotation from his Ā'īn. **

"Experts in the art of music, both men and women, from India, Iran, Turan and Kashmir added to the splendour of the royal assemblies".

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* Farishta Vol. II 344.

** A'in. 183.

We notice at the court of Akbar, the Great, side by side with the Muslim musicians, many Hindu masters of the art, such as Babārām, Sūrdās, Rangsĕn and Miyān Tānsen or Miyān Chānd whatever he may be named. About this Miyān Tānsen, Abu'l Faḍl has remarked that during this millennium no musician equal to him has been born.

Muslim writers wrote several books on Hindu Music such as *Rāg Darpan, Chandrikā, Madhnāyak Singār,* etc. But we know little of any other Hindu writer except Bhūpat Rā'i who composed a treatise on music in the nineteenth year of Muḥammad Shāhi reign *i.e.* 1738 A.D. Below is given the list of a few more Hindu musicians of the later age selected from the *Athār-i-Shu'arā-i-Hunud.*

Pandit Ajodhia Prasād Kashmiri :

He lived in Lucknow and Hairat was his pen-name. He was a pupil of Jur'at. He left behind a number of *dīwāns* and *Mathnawis* to perpetuate his memory. He was a universally acknowledged master of musical art in his time. He died in 1234 A.H. (1819 A.D.) at the age of 35 years.

Miththanlāl :

He was the son of Bakhshi Sulṭān Singh Kāyesth of Delhi. Besides Persian, Sanskrit, Medicine and poetry, he was an expert of music also. He invented one special musical instrument.

Rushanlāl :

He was also a master of music and bore Shawq as his pen-name.

Tulsidās :

He belonged to Delhi and adopted Ṣamīm as his pen-name. He was a scholar of Sanskrit and knew Persian as well. He lived a simple and ascetic life. Besides medicine he was recognized as an unparalleled master of music. Mirzā Qādir Bakhsh Ṭāhir in his *Tadhkirah-i-Gulistān-i-Sukhan* makes the following remarks :-

" He (Tulsīdās) possessed a working knowledge of Persian. He was fully acquainted with the books written by the Hindu authors, particularly those on the subject of music. He possessed a skilled hand in instrumental music and played guitar so excellently that the listeners were thrilled and transported with rapturous joy. I have personally listened to his pleasing notes and enjoyed their delightful effect to the full. Sometimes he displayed interest in Rīkhtā (Urdu Poetry)."

Music already existed in India, but the Muslims having added their own treasure of knowledge, enriched it. The Hindu Musicians were also well disposed to study the art under the Muslim teachers. In this modern age Mawlānā 'Ināyat Rasūl Chiryākōti, an elder brother of Mawlānā Muḥammad Fārūq Chiryākōti, who had been not only a great scholar of his time but in certain respects had no parallel in India, was also a great expert of musical art. Many of his Hindu pupils are still alive to maintain the dignity of his name.

D. PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

The art of sculpture existed undoubtedly in Ancient India as borne out by the stupas and monuments of the

Buddhists and the Jains. The caves of Elora and Ajanta still astound the whole world. But nothing can be said as to the extent to which ancient Indians had developed portrait drawing and genre paintings; nor do we knew of any Hindu painter who acquired excellence in this particular art.

The Hindus after the arrival of the Muslims began to specialize in painting also like other fine arts; so that after a short time they attained perfection beyond imagination according to Abu'l Faḍl. It is further proved by the fact that Akbar, the Great, who ardently loved the Hindu art and culture had no specimen of ancient Indian painting in his museum. Abu'l Faḍl says, "India which had never thought of the art of painting has now reached such a high level of efficiency that few countries can compete with her."*

Some prominent Hindu painters of Akbar's time are mentioned below :-

Kēsū, Mukand, Jagan, Khēmkaran, Sānwla, Lāl, Mādhō, Māhesh, Tārā, Harban, and Rām Basāwan.

About Rām Basāwan who was a Hindu painter, Abu'l Faḍl expresses his opinion as under :-

"Basāwan was the best artist of his time in regard to portrait and genre painting, colouring and other matters connected with the art."

Basāwant or Basāwan was born of a ***Kahār*** (low caste) family. He had a natural aptitude for painting. He used to

* A'in p. 77.

draw lines irregularly on the walls of the royal palace in his childhood. One day Akbar chanced to see him cribbling on the walls. Having perceived the latent powers of the boy, the Emperor placed him under Khwāja 'Abdus-Ṣamad for receiving instructions. After a short training he came out as an expert painter.

Of all the rulers of Tīmūr's dynasty, Jahāngīr was the greatest patron of this art. Bishandās was an outstanding painter of his court. The Emperor himself acknowledged his talents in the *Tuzuk* and declared him to be a painter unsurpassed in portrait-painting.

Jahāngīr sent Khān 'Ālam to Iraq in the fourtheenth coronation year of his reign *i.e.* 1619 A.D. Bishandās also accompanied him under the Emperor's orders. He was instructed to portray the pictures of Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī and his court. These portraits were so excellently painted that all who had seen those personages considered them perfectly lifelike. The Emperor himself boasted of this achievement of Bishandās in his *Tuzuk* and admired the artist's performance.

The Library of 'Abdur-Raḥīm Khān Khanān was a sort of museum which contained, as the most wonderful specimens, some paintings of Mādhō, a Hindu painter. The author of the *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī* says about Mādhō that he was the greatest expert of his time in portrait and genre painting and that the pictures in most of the pictorial books contained in the library, had been painted by him.

In Muḥammad Shāh's regime there was a painter in Delhi named Gōrdhan about whom Anand Rām, the author of the *Mir'atu'l-Iṣlāḥ* says that he could draw a map of a whole city on one leaf of the narcissus.

It is regretted that the names of all the artists could not be immortalised in history. Many of these masters of painting, except those who were attached to the courts of kings and nobles, have been lost in the darkness of oblivion. In fact there must have been a lot of them who, otherwise unfortunate, had nothing to complain of in regard to their manual dexterity and mental subtlety.

E. SOME HINDU PHYSICIANS OF THE LATER AGE.

Pūran Singh :

Kāyesth by caste and resident of Delhi, he was a pupil of Sa'dat Yār Khān Rangīn. Pūran was his pen-name. He had profound knowledge of Sanskrit and Indian medicine. He was conversant with Persian also. But he showed little attention to patients because of his bad temperament.

Lāla Khem Narā'in Khattari :

He was one of the friends of Mahārāja Tikait Rā'i of Lucknow. Towards the close of his life he migrated to Calcutta after the annexation of Oudh. He was a good poet of Persian and had made a deep study of medicine. He was one of the pupils of Mawlawī Ḥafīẓu'd-Dīn Shahid.

Miththan Lāl :

Saksena Kāyesth by caste, he was the son of Bakhshi Sulṭān Singh of Delhi. He was a scholar of Sanskrit and

Persian. He compiled a dictionary and had a good reputation for his knowledge of medicine.

Tulsidās :

He has already been mentioned among the musicians. He was a *Sādhū* (hermit) and lived like an ascetic. He resided at Delhi and was in touch with the princes of the Royal family. Now and then he wrote verses with Ṣamīm as his pen-name. He was the master of Indian System of medicine and treated chronic diseases with Ayurvedic drugs. He was an expert in prescribing calxes and in treating leprosy and gout. He was also an accomplished musician and a Persian scholar.

Sukhanand :

Kāyesth by caste and resident of Delhi, he was a pupil of Shāh Naṣīr Dehlawi. Besides his knowledge of poetic technique he was the unrivalled physician of his time.

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